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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

FREDERICK THE THIRD,

KING OF PRUSSIA.

By JOSEPH TOWERS, L.L.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

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PREFACE.

FREDERICK the Third, the late King of Pruſſia, was ſuperior to every other prince of the age in which he lived, for the extent of his abilities, his talents as a ſtateſman and a general, his military exploits, and his literary attainments; and he excited the attention of mankind, in a very high degree, during a great part of the preſent century. Such, indeed, were his actions, and ſuch his endowments, that ages may revolve, before another monarch ſhall ariſe, equally active, able, enterprizing, and warlike, and in whom ſuch various talents are united. A prince, who poſſeſſed abilities thus ſplendid and uncommon, and thus conſpicuouſly and remarkably ex-

 erted,

erted, muſt naturally be a conſiderable object of literary curioſity; and we are ſolicitous to become accurately acquainted with ſo extraordinary and ſo diſtinguiſhed a character.

THE Writer of the preſent Work is aware of the extreme difficulty of doing juſtice to his ſubject; but he has endeavoured to give an accurate and impartial account of the principal tranſactions of the life and reign of the late celebrated Pruſſian monarch, ſo far as proper information came within his reach; and it has been his aim not only juſtly to exhibit the public qualities of FREDERICK, as a king and as a hero, but alſo his more private character as a man, and as a lover of literature, ſcience, and the arts. He has not, however, been induced, by the ſplendour which ſurrounded the hero concerning whom he writes, to vindicate his actions, when they were repugnant to juſtice and to humanity. The rights of mankind are of infinitely more importance than the honour

honour or the intereſts of princes; and however flattering the repreſentations that may be given of kings during their lives, there can be no reaſon that theſe repreſentations ſhould be continued for the deception of poſterity.

AS the Writer was deſirous of giving to his Work as much authenticity as poſſible, the references to his authorities will be found to be numerous; and where the authors, from whom his facts are derived, relate incidents and tranſactions of which they were themſelves eye-witneſſes, he has ſometimes given longer notes, and more copious extracts, than he otherwiſe would have done, from a deſire of communicating the moſt exact and ſatisfactory information, and of enabling his readers to judge for themſelves of the authenticity of the facts that are related.

IN the courſe of this Work, accounts are occaſionally given, particularly in the

the notes, of men of letters, who were patronized by the King of Pruſſia, or with whom he was connected; and it is preſumed, that this part of the Work will not be unacceptable to readers of a literary taſte, to whom anecdotes of literary men are generally more intereſting, than minute accounts of ſieges and of battles.

CON-

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

CHAP. I.

The birth of Frederick III. *king of Pruſſia.—He is inſtructed in his infancy in the French language, and early trained up in military exerciſes.—Accompanies his father on a viſit to Auguſtus, king of Poland.—Is preſent at a ſplendid military entertainment.—Character of his father, Frederick William, the ſecond king of Pruſſia.—The prince forms a ſcheme to quit his father's dominions.—His deſign diſcovered, and a young officer executed, who was to have accompanied him in his travels.—The prince himſelf confined in the caſtle of Cuſtrin.—He is releaſed, and his father becomes reconciled to him.* Page 1

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The prince-royal of Pruſſia, after his reconciliation with his father, applies himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies.—His marriage.—Accompanies his father in a journey to the imperial camp.—Correſponds with Voltaire.—Makes a tour to Holland.—Becomes a free-maſon.—Baron Bielfeld's deſcription of his perſon and manners.—Account of his court at Rheinſberg, and character of his wife, the princeſs royal.—The prince patronizes men of letters, and profeſſors of the fine arts.—His correſpondence with M. Suhm, envoy from the court of Dreſden to the courts of Berlin and Peterſburgh. Page 29

CHAP. III.

Death of Frederick William.—Acceſſion of Frederick III. to the throne of Pruſſia.—His popularity among his ſubjects on his acceſſion.—He attends the funeral of his father.—Diſbands the regiment of tall guards.—Inſtitutes a new order of knighthood.—Declines being crowned.—Voltaire congratulates him on his acceſſion.—Viſits ſeveral parts of his dominions.—Takes a journey to Straſburgh.—Has an interview with Voltaire.—Prints his Anti-Machiavel.—Claims, and ſeizes, two diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of the biſhop of Leige. 64

CONTENTS.

CHAP. IV.

Retroſpective view of the gradual increaſe in power of the princes of the houſe of Brandenburgh.—The death of the emperor Charles VI.—Several princes of Europe endeavour to deprive his daughter, Maria Thereſa, of the ſucceſſion to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, which had been guarantied to her by the pragmatic ſanction.—The king of Pruſſia enters Sileſia at the head of a large body of troops, and lays claim to that province.—Fruitleſs negociation with the queen of Hungary. Page 110

CHAP. V.

Progreſs of the Pruſſian army in Sileſia.—The city of Glogau taken by ſurprize.—The battle of Molwitz.—The city of Brieg ſurrenders to the Pruſſian arms.—The Britiſh and Dutch miniſters preſent a memorial to Frederick, on his invaſion of Sileſia.—He makes himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fortreſs of Neiſs.—Enters Breſlaw, and receives the homage of the nobility, clergy, and burghers.—He returns to Berlin.—State of the Auſtrian affairs.—The court of France engages in the war againſt the queen of Hungary.—The elector of Bavaria raiſed to the imperial throne. 125

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VI.

Splendour of the court of Berlin, after the return of the king from Silesia. — Marriage of the prince of Prussia.—The king sets out from Berlin in the midst of winter, in order to join his army, and oppose the progress of the Austrians. —He has an interview with the king of Poland. —He arrives at Prague, and proceeds from thence to Glatz in Bohemia, and afterwards to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia.—The town of Iglau taken by prince Thierri of Anhalt Dessau.— Frederick makes himself master of Znaym.—Abandons Olmutz, and retreats out of Moravia.—He defeats the Austrian army, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, at Czaslaw, in Bohemia.—Concludes a peace with the queen of Hungary.—He returns to Berlin. Difficulties to which the French are reduced, after Frederick had concluded a separate peace with the court of Vienna.—The distressful situation of the emperor. Page 152

CHAP. VII.

Frederick applies himself to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, and establishes a new academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin.—Marriage of the princess Ulrica, the king's sister, with the prince-royal of Sweden.— Frederick again prepares for war.—His answers

ſwers to the requiſitions made by the earl of Hyndford, as ambaſſador from Great Britain.—He concludes a treaty at Franckfort, and engages to ſupport the emperor.—Publiſhes a manifeſto againſt the queen of Hungary, and ſends reſcripts to the different courts of Europe. Page 176

CHAP. VIII.

Frederick puts himſelf at the head of his troops, and marches into Bohemia.—The extraordinary proclamation publiſhed by him in that country.—Makes himſelf maſter of the city of Prague, and of ſome other towns and fortreſſes.—A ſtop put to the progreſs of his arms by prince Charles of Lorrain.—Frederick is obliged to abandon Prague, and his other conqueſts, and to retreat precipitately into Sileſia, and from thence to Berlin, with great loſs.—Death of the emperor.—The king of Pruſſia returns again to Sileſia, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men.—Battle of Hohen Friedberg, in which Frederick gains a compleat victory over prince Charles of Lorrain. 203

CHAP IX.

The king of Pruſſia encamps his army in Bohemia.—Negociations entered into by him, and repreſentations made by his miniſters at foreign courts.

courts.—The grand duke of Tuſcany elected emperor, and crowned at Franckfort.—Battle of Sohr.—Frederick returns to Berlin.—Sets out again from that city, and puts himſelf at the head of his troops in Sileſia.—Action at Hennerſdorff.—The king makes himſelf maſter of Gorlitz.—The Auſtrians retreat before him into Bohemia.—The city of Leipſic ſurrenders to the prince of Anhalt Deſſau.—Other towns in Saxony taken poſſeſſion of by that prince.—He defeats the Saxons and Auſtrians at Keſſeldorff.—The city of Dreſden ſurrenders to the king of Pruſſia.—Peace concluded in that capital.—Frederick returns in triumph to Berlin. Page 222

CHAP. X.

Attention of the king of Pruſſia to civil regulations, and matters of domeſtic policy.—Eſtabliſhment of the Frederician code.—M. Maupertuis placed at the head of the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres.—New regulations of that academy.—Frederick grants permiſſion for the erection of a Roman Catholic church at Berlin. 254

CHAP. XI.

Frederick publiſhes his Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, and his poem on the Art of War.—Some account of thoſe performances.—Journies made by the king.—Entertainments of the court, at his different country palaces. 265

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Frederick appoints M. Bielfeld ſuperintendant of all the univerſities in his dominions.—The king's attention to the intereſts of his ſubjects, and the embelliſhment of his capital.—He maintains the right of his ſubjects to navigate the ſeas, without interruption from other powers at war.—His repreſentations on that ſubject to the States-general, and to the court of Great Britain.—Conteſt between the king of Pruſſia and his Britannick majeſty, concerning the property of Eaſt Frieſland.—Frederick interpoſes in the diſputes between the courts of Ruſſia and Sweden.—He receives a viſit from mareſchal Saxe at Potſdam. Page 281

CHAP. XIII.

Repeated applications made by the king of Pruſſia to Voltaire, to induce him to quit France, and reſide at the court of Berlin.—Voltaire's arrival, and reception.—Diverſions and entertainments at the Pruſſian court.—Frederick's mode of living at this period.—Deſcription of the palace of Sans Souci.—Methods adopted by the king for increaſing the population of his dominions. 304

CHAP. XIV.

Miſunderſtanding between the king and Voltaire.—The latter involved in a law-ſuit with a Jew.—The

—The king interferes in an academical diſpute between Maupertuis and Koenig.—Voltaire ſupports the cauſe of the latter, in oppoſition to the king.—A ſatirical piece againſt Maupertuis, written by Voltaire, publickly burnt at Berlin.—Voltaire quits Berlin, and is arreſted at Franckfort. Page 327

CHAP. XV.

Frederick oppoſes the election of a king of the Romans.—He detains a part of the debt due to Britiſh ſubjects from the Sileſian revenues, by way of repriſals for captures of Pruſſian veſſels, made by Britiſh cruizers.—He viſits the city of Amſterdam, in company with colonel Balbi.—Oppoſition made by him to the ſubſidiary treaty entered into between Great Britain and Ruſſia.—He concludes himſelf a treaty with the king of Great Britain. 359

CHAP. XVI.

Jealouſy and apprehenſion excited in the neighbouring powers, by the great army of the king of Pruſſia, his military preparations, and his indefatigable diligence in exerciſing his troops.—Eventual treaty of partition entered into againſt him, in caſe of his giving riſe to a new war.—Declaration of his Britannick majeſty, relative to the treaty concluded between him and the king of Pruſſia. 376

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XVII.

The king of Pruſſia demands an explanation of the empreſs-queen, relative to the deſign of her military preparations.—Is diſſatisfied with her anſwer, and reſolves on the immediate commencement of hoſtilities.—Publiſhes a declaration of his motives for oppoſing the court of Vienna.—Demands a paſſage for his troops through the electorate of Saxony.—Enters the electorate with a large army, and publiſhes a manifeſto.—The king of Poland retires from Dreſden, and repairs to the camp at Pirna. Page 393

CHAP. XVIII.

The king of Pruſſia ſeizes the revenues of the electorate of Saxony.—Cauſes the ſecret cabinet at Dreſden, containing the archives of the electorate, to be broken open, notwithſtanding the perſonal oppoſition of the queen of Poland.—He attends divine ſervice at a Lutheran church in Dreſden.—The king of Poland ſolicits the mediation and aſſiſtance of the neutral powers of Europe, on the king of Pruſſia's invaſion of his electorate, and taking poſſeſſion of its government and revenues.—Memorial preſented by his Poliſh majeſty's reſident at the Hague to the States-general.—Declaration of the empreſs of Ruſſia againſt the conduct of the king of Pruſſia —Declaration of the king of France againſt him. —Three imperial decrees iſſued againſt him.—He publiſhes an elaborate memorial, in vindication of himſelf. 408

MEMOIRS

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OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

FREDERICK THE THIRD,

KING OF PRUSSIA.

CHAP. I.

The birth of Frederick III. *king of Pruſſia.—He is inſtructed in his infancy in the French language, and early trained up in military exerciſes.—Accompanies his father on a viſit to Auguſtus, king of Poland.—Is preſent at a ſplendid military entertainment.—Character of his father, Frederick William, the ſecond king of Pruſſia.—The prince forms a ſcheme to quit his father's dominions.—His deſign diſcovered, and a young officer executed, who was to have accompanied him in his travels.—The prince himſelf confined in the caſtle of Cuſtrin.—He is releaſed, and his father becomes reconciled to him.*

THE great Prince, the incidents of whoſe life, and the tranſactions of whoſe reign, I have undertaken to relate, was the eldeſt ſon

CHAP. I. A. D. 1712.

of Frederick William, the ſecond king of Pruſſia, by Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George the Firſt, king of England. He was born at Berlin, on the 24th of January, 1712. He was baptized by the name of CHARLES FREDERICK; but he afterwards choſe to be known only by the name of FREDERICK, wholly omitting CHARLES, both in his private letters, and in his public memorials and ſtate-papers. In his infancy he was chiefly committed to the care of madam de Rocoule; and as this lady ſpoke only French, he was early familiarized to that language [a]; which was probably the cauſe of that partiality to it, which he ever afterwards diſcovered. But, at ſeven years of age, he was taken out of the hands of the women; and the count de Finck, of Finckenſtein, a lieutenant general, and colonel of a regiment of horſe, was appointed his governor, and the baron de Kaleſtein his ſub-governor [b].

HE appears to have received little inſtruction in literature, or the ſciences; for the great object of the king his father was, to inſpire into him a taſte for a military life [A]; ſo that, even

[a] Pollnitz's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 27. edit. Lond. 1745.

[b] Ibid. p. 28.

[A] The author of the "Hiſtory of Pruſſia, particularly "during the reign of the late king Frederick William," which was firſt publiſhed in the German language, but of which an Engliſh tranſlation was printed, in 8vo. in 1756, ſays, "Our monarch, deſiring to tranſmit to his ſucceſſor the "ſame

even when a boy, he was well verſed in military diſcipline. In 1723, when he was in the twelfth year of his age, George the Firſt, king of Great-Britain, went from Hanover to Berlin, to pay a viſit to the king and queen of Pruſſia; and on the ſecond day after his Britannick majeſty's arrival, the prince royal of Pruſſia, in order to entertain him, appeared on an eſplanade, near the gardens of the palace, at the head of three hundred young gentlemen cadets, of whom he was colonel, and whom he exerciſed, with a degree of dexterity that ſurprized the Britiſh monarch [c]. The prince did not, however, confine himſelf to his military exerciſes; but applied himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of polite literature, particularly poetry, and very early diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to muſic.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1723.

In 1728, the prince accompanied his father on a viſit to Auguſtus, king of Poland, who had invited his Pruſſian majeſty to paſs the carnival with him at Dreſden; and on this occaſion the Poliſh monarch conferred the order

A. D. 1728.

"ſame martial inclination, which he had himſelf to a ſu-
"preme degree, cauſed a little arſenal to be made in the
"great hall of Orange, for the prince royal, his ſon, who
"was a promiſing youth, and entering into the ninth year
"of his age. This arſenal contained ſeveral ſmall pieces of
"artillery, a quantity of little fuſils, and other arms pro-
"portioned to his age." P. 282.

[c] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 305.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

of the White Eagle on the prince of Pruſſia, and preſented him with a croſs of the order worth 12,000 crowns[d]. About two years after, he alſo went with his father, to be preſent at a very ſplendid military entertainment, which was made at the expence of the king of Poland, in the plain of Muhlberg, in the marquiſate of Miſnia, at the diſtance of about half a league from the Elbe. A camp was formed, and troops were aſſembled, to the amount of 30,000 men, for the purpoſe of performing various military evolutions. The camp was divided into two lines, each of which contained half the army, and took up the whole breadth of the plain; and the cavalry was placed on the two wings of each line, and the artillery in the center. The corners and extremities of the camp were terminated by pyramids of hewn ſtone, thirty-ſix feet high, finely cut and ornamented; and theſe pyramids marked out the extent of the place of arms, which was a mile long, and of equal breadth. Various temporary edifices were erected; and ſeveral days were paſſed in different military amuſements. Mock fights were exhibited; and in the evenings ſuperb fire-works were played off, and comedies performed; to which were added balls and concerts[e].

[d] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 376.

[e] Ibid. p. 402—419.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

It was not long after their return home from this excurſion, that a great miſunderſtanding took place between the king of Pruſſia and his ſon the prince royal, and which at length aroſe to ſuch a height, as to induce the latter to form a reſolution to quit his father's dominions. Of the particular ground of this quarrel, we are not informed; though it has been intimated, that the miſunderſtanding between them was fomented by count Seckendorff[f]; but it has generally been accounted for from the violent temper of the king, and the auſterity of his behaviour; which renders it neceſſary to make here ſome obſervations reſpecting his character and manners.

Frederick William, the ſecond king of Pruſſia, was a prince whoſe ideas were almoſt wholly military, and the principal object of whoſe reign, from the very commencement of it, was, to render himſelf reſpectable to his neighbours, by keeping up a numerous army. By his frugal adminiſtration of his finances he contrived, the very firſt year of his reign, to maintain fifty thouſand men, without any foreign ſubſidies[g]. His greateſt pleaſure was to be maſter of the talleſt regiment in Europe; he ſpared no expence to procure the largeſt

[f] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 420.

[g] Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, written by his Pruſſian Majeſty, Lond. 1768. vol. II. p. 6.

men

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

men he could meet with; and he ſeems to have ſcrupled no methods of obtaining men for his purpoſe [B]. Voltaire ſays, that this monarch 'uſed to walk from his palace clothed 'in

[B] He not only employed perſons to enliſt ſoldiers for him in different countries, but his agents ſometimes took men by force out of the territories of other princes. Among others, a brewer was forcibly taken out of a village in Poland, belonging to general count Fleming; who made repeated remonſtrances againſt this violence, but without effect. The Pruſſian enliſters alſo took ſeveral tall men by force out of the electorate of Hanover. *Hiſt. of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William*, p. 306, 377. A conduct ſo violent, and ſo repugnant to reaſon, juſtice, and the law of nations, gave ſo much offence to George II. who, in 1727, ſucceeded to the throne of Great-Britain, that it had nearly occaſioned a war between Hanover and Pruſſia. By the command of his Britannick majeſty, ſome Pruſſian ſubaltern officers and ſoldiers were arreſted in Hanover, by way of repriſal for the Hanoverians that had been forcibly enliſted by the Pruſſians. Manifeſtoes were publiſhed on both ſides, and troops were aſſembled; but the affair was at length accommodated, without coming to extremities, by the interpoſition of other powers. A great animoſity, however, afterwards continued between Frederick William and the king of England; though it might, perhaps, be increaſed by other cauſes. Baron Bielfeld ſays, that the quarrel between them had once ariſen ſo high, 'that the two monarchs, after the 'example of Charles V. and Francis I. had determined to 'decide it by ſingle combat; that the king of England had 'fixed on brigadier Sutton for his ſecond; and that his Pruſ'ſian majeſty had made choice of colonel Derſchau; the ter'ritory of Hilderſheim being appointed for the rendezvous. 'His Britannick majeſty was then at Hanover, and his Pruſ'ſian majeſty was already arrived at Saltzdahl, near Brunſ'wick. Baron von Bork, who had been the Pruſſian mi'niſter at London, and was diſmiſſed from that court in a 'very

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

'in an old blue coat, with copper buttons, 'half way down his thighs; and when he 'bought

'very ungracious manner, arriving at Saltzdahl, found the 'king his maſter in ſo violent a rage, that he did not think 'it adviſable directly to oppoſe his deſign; but, on the con- 'trary, in order to gain time, ſeemed to approve of the 'choice of a ſingle combat, and even offered his ſervice to 'carry the cartel. But entering the king's apartment about 'an hour after, he took the liberty to ſay, "Sire, I am "convinced, that your majeſty's quarrel ought not to be de- "cided but by a duel; and, if I may be allowed the expreſ- "ſion, as between one gentleman and another. But your "majeſty is ſcarcely recovered from a dangerous illneſs, and "have ſtill remaining all the ſymptoms of your late diſor- "der: how unfortunate, therefore, would it be, if you "ſhould relapſe the evening before the combat, or even that "very morning? what a triumph would that be for the king "of England? and what would the world ſay? What odious "ſuſpicions would it caſt upon your majeſty's courage? "Would it not, therefore, be far better to poſtpone the af- "fair for a few days, till your majeſty's health is eſtabliſh- "ed?" The king, they ſay, acquieſced, though with dif- 'ficulty, in theſe reaſonings; the cartel was not ſent; the 'miniſters on both ſides gained time; the wrath of the two 'kings by degrees evaporated; and by the next year they 'became in ſome degree reconciled.' Bielfeld's Letters, vol. iii. p. 195, 196, 197.

Frederick III. in his *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, has mentioned the following particulars relative to the animoſity which ſubſiſted between his father and his uncle. He ſays, that 'Frederick William and George II. though bro- 'thers-in-law, and in a manner brought up together, could 'never endure each other, even when children. This per- 'ſonal hatred, and ſettled antipathy, had like to have proved 'fatal to their ſubjects. The king of England uſed to ſtile 'the

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

'bought a new one, theſe buttons were made 'to ſerve again.[c]. It was in this dreſs 'that his majeſty, armed with a huge ſer- 'jeant's cane, marched forth every day to re-

'the king of Pruſſia, *my brother the ſerjeant*; and the king 'of Pruſſia the king of England, *my brother the player*. This 'animoſity ſoon infected their dealings, and did not fail to 'have its influence on the moſt important events.' Vol. II. p. 69, 70.

[c] The author of the "Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the "reign of Frederick William," ſays, "He deteſted luxury "in dreſs and furniture, and would not lie in a chamber "hung with tapeſtry. He wore only a coat of coarſe blue "cloth, with gilt copper buttons, a ſtraw-coloured waiſt- "coat with a ſingle gold lace, and ſtraw-coloured breeches "alſo, except in ſummer, when he wore linen ones. He "wore only white ſpatterdaſhes, which were faſtened with "ſmall copper buttons, by the help of a little iron hook, "with which they were forcibly drawn till they came into "the button holes. His ſhoes were ſtrong, and durable, "with high heels and ſquare toes. His hat had only a plain "narrow gold lace, and little button without a loop, and a "band of gold twiſt about it, from which a ſmall golden "taſſel hung down on each ſide of the hat. The graſp of "his ſword was of ſilver wire, the guard and ſhell of gilt "copper, the blade large, long, and heavy, and the whole "hung by an elk ſkin belt, whitened with chalk." P. 81, 82.

The ſame writer ſays, in another place, that Frederick William 'was ſuch a lover of œconomy, that he eſtabliſhed 'a profeſſor at Hall to teach it publicly; and believed, that 'a ſtate wanted nothing but œconomy and troops to make 'it flouriſh.' P. 525.

'view

'view his regiment of giants. Theſe giants were his greateſt delight, and the things for which he went to the heavieſt expence. The men who ſtood in the firſt rank of this regiment, were none of them leſs than ſeven feet high; and he ſent to purchaſe them from the farther parts of Europe to the borders of Aſia. I have ſeen ſome of them ſince his death [h].' CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

It is ſaid of Frederick William by his ſon, that he 'left behind him an army of ſixty-ſix thouſand men, whom his great oeconomy enabled him to maintain; his finances increaſed; the public treaſure full; and the moſt ſurprizing order in all his affairs. If one may truly ſay, that it is to the acorn, from which it ſprung, we are indebted for the ſhade of the oak, the whole world muſt allow, that it is in the labours and wiſdom of this prince, we muſt look for the ſources of that proſperity which the royal houſe has enjoyed ſince his death [i].' But though Frederick William, agreeably to his ſon's account of him, was in ſundry reſpects an able and a politic prince, yet his temper was violent and arbitrary, and his manners were often extremely rough, and approaching even to bru-

[h] Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, written by himſelf, tranſlated from the French, Lond. 8vo. 1785. p. 17, 18.

[i] Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, ut ſupra, p. 109, 110.

tality.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

tality [D]. Voltaire ſays, that he was 'an 'abſolute Vandal, who thought of no other 'thing,

[D] His temper and manners ſeem to have been variable; and there is a great contrariety in the accounts given of him by different writers. Baron Pollnitz, in a letter from Berlin, dated June 6. 1729, ſays, 'I had the honour to ſee the 'king, who was then ſeeing his ſoldiers mount guard. He 'is a prince of a middling ſtature, and in very good plight 'of body. His air commands reſpect; yet, when he pleaſes, 'no prince in the world can be more gracious. I heard 'him ſpeak to his officers in ſuch a kind manner, as could 'not but charm them. I admired his genius for military 'diſcipline; and perceived, that, with the glance of an eye, 'he could diſcover the leaſt fault committed againſt that 'wonderful exactneſs, which is introduced in the evolutions 'of his troops. After the guards had performed their exer-'ciſe, the king ſtayed to ſee them file off. I never yet ſaw 'troops march with more order and ſtate, ſo that it ſeemed 'as if they were all moved by one ſpring. All the ſoldiers 'are young, of an even ſtature, and the clevereſt fellows 'that nature ever formed. They are well cloathed, and 'have ſuch an air of neatneſs, that even the private centinels 'might all paſs for officers."

The ſame writer alſo ſays, 'The miniſters of moſt conſe-'quence at this court are Meſſieurs d'Ilgen, Grumkau, and 'Kniphauſen. Theſe are they who treat of foreign affairs, 'and through whoſe hands paſs the ſecrets of ſtate: but the 'king's prime miniſter is the king himſelf, who is informed 'of every thing, and is deſirous to know every thing. He 'gives great application to buſineſs, but does it with extra-'ordinary eaſe; and nothing eſcapes his penetration, nor 'his memory, which is a very happy one. No one knows 'better than he where his government is ſtrong, and where 'it is weak; and no ſovereign in the world is of more eaſy 'acceſs,

'thing, during his whole reign, than amaſſing 'of money, and maintaining, at the leaſt poſſible 'expence,

'acceſs, his ſubjects being actually permitted to write to 'him, without any other formality than ſuperſcribing the 'letter, *To the King*. By writing underneath, *To be deli-'vered into his Majeſty's own hands*, one may be ſure that the 'king receives and reads it, and that the next poſt he will 'anſwer it, either with his own hand, or by his ſecretary. 'Theſe anſwers are ſhort, but peremptory; and they pre-'vent a tedious, painful attendance. The king, who is an 'enemy to vain pomp and pageantry, always goes abroad 'without guards, with only a ſmall retinue, and ſometimes 'too walks on foot. He makes his greatneſs to conſiſt in 'ſolid power, in the having his troops well diſciplined, his 'places kept up in good order, his arſenals well provided, 'and his treaſury full enough to enable him to oppoſe his 'enemy, in caſe he be attacked.'

'There is no town in all the king of Pruſſia's dominions, 'except Neufchatel, where he has not been; no province 'which he does not know full well; not a noble family but 'he can tell their revenues; nor a court of juſtice but he is 'well acquainted with their chief members.—His diverſion 'is hunting; and for this reaſon, he reſides conſtantly at 'Potſdam, or Wuſterhauſen, which are pleaſure-houſes four 'miles from Berlin. Yet he generally goes on Saturdays 'into his capital, where he holds a council on Sunday, and 'returns on Monday. In the winter he makes a longer ſtay 'at Berlin: but let him be either here or there, he is on the 'parade every day at ten o'clock, when his ſoldiers mount 'guard; after which he gives audience to his miniſters, and 'holds a council, or goes abroad for the air. At noon, the 'king appears in a great ſaloon, where are all the generals 'and officers, the foreign miniſters, and all the court in ge-'neral. There he converſes a few moments, and then goes

into

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

'expence, the fineſt ſoldiers in Europe. Never 'were ſubjects poorer, or king more rich. He 'bought

'into another room, where he dines with the queen, the 'princes and princeſſes of his family, and any other perſons 'whom he has cauſed to be invited. His table is commonly 'ſpread for eighteen gueſts. After he has ſat about an hour 'and half at table, he retires to his cloſet till ſix at night, 'when he appears again in the room where he held his levee. 'There his majeſty gives orders to the mareſchal Wartenſle-'ben, governor of Berlin, and to the mareſchal Natzmer, com-'mandant of the gens d'armes. After this, he talks a while 'with thoſe that are preſent, and then paſſes into a room at 'ſome diſtance from his apartment, to which the queen re-'pairs ſometimes with one or two ladies in company. There 'are ten or a dozen officers, whom the king honours with 'his confidence, who play here at picquet, ombre, and back-'gammon. Here they alſo ſmoke; and to this place the 'king ſends for ſuch as he has a mind to talk with about 'ſpecial affairs. I have been there twice upon ſuch an ac-'count. Here is no manner of reſtraint, but every body ſits 'down, the king diſpenſing with all the reſpect that is due 'to him, and, at eleven o'clock he diſmiſſes the company, 'and retires.' *Pollnitz's Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 23, 34, 35, 36, 37.

Another writer informs us, that in the middle of a reſervoir of water, at Potſdam, is a little building erected by Frederick William, 'who uſed to hold his councils of war 'in it, and ſeldom failed to repair thither every evening, to 'drink beer, and ſmoke a pipe with his generals. On thoſe 'occaſions a kind of ſupper was ſerved up of ſalt beef, ham, 'and Brunſwick ſauſages.' *Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment of the King of Pruſſia*, p. 36.

Baron Bielfeld ſays of Frederick William, that he was 'of a diſpoſition haſty and violent, liable to be offended by 'the

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

'bought up, at a deſpicable price, the eſtates 'of a great part of the nobility; who ſoon 'devoured

'the moſt innocent actions; and the firſt motions of his wrath 'were ſometimes highly dangerous. He had, in general, 'no affection either for the polite courtier, or the man of 'letters.' *Letters*, vol. III. p. 121.

His ſon ſays of him, in his *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, that 'he exerted himſelf to regulate his finances, 'the police, the courts of juſtice, and the army; depart-'ments which had been equally neglected under the preced-'ing reign. He enjoyed an active mind in a vigorous body. 'There never lived a man ſo capable of entering into every 'branch of buſineſs; but then, if he ſtooped to little things, 'it was from a perſuaſion, that great things are only the com-'bination of many little ones. He referred his undertak-'ings to one general plan of policy, which he had formed 'to himſelf; and in labouring to bring every part to the 'utmoſt perfection of which it was capable, he only laboured 'to perfect the whole.'

'He aboliſhed all uſeleſs expences, and ſtopped thoſe ca-'nals of profuſion, through which his father had miſapplied 'the reſources furniſhed him by the proſperity of his ſub-'jects, to vain and idle purpoſes. The court was the firſt 'to feel the effects of this reformation. He retained but a 'few perſons eſſential to his dignity, or uſeful to the ſtate. 'Of one hundred chamberlains, in the ſervice of his father, 'he kept but twelve: the reſt took to the army, or the ca-'binet. He reduced his private expences to a very moderate 'ſum, ſaying, that a prince ought to be ſparing of the blood 'and ſubſtance of his ſubjects. In this reſpect, he might 'well be conſidered as a philoſopher on the throne, and 'quite the reverſe of thoſe great ſcholars, who make all their 'barren knowledge conſiſt in the ſpeculation of ſuch abſtract 'matters as ſeem to elude our inquiries. He himſelf gave 'examples

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

'devoured the little money they got for them; 'above half of which returned to the royal 'coffers, by means of the duties upon con- 'ſumption. All the king's lands were farmed 'out to tax-gatherers, who held the double 'office of exciſeman and judge; inſomuch, 'that if a landed tenant did not pay this col- 'lector upon the very day appointed, he put 'on his judge's robe, and condemned the de- 'linquent in double the ſum. It muſt be ob- 'ſerved, that if this ſame exciſeman and judge 'did not pay the king by the laſt day of the 'month, the day following he was himſelf 'obliged to pay double to the king. Did a 'man kill a hare, or lop a tree, any where 'near the royal domains, or commit any other 'peccadillo? he was inſtantly condemned to 'pay a fine.'—'It was by ſuch means only, 'that he could, in a reign of twenty-eight 'years, load the cellars of his palace at Ber- 'lin with a hundred and twenty millions of 'crowns (fifteen millions ſterling,) all well 'caſked up in barrels, hooped with iron [k].'

FREDERICK WILLIAM had little acquaintance with literature or the ſciences, nor did they re-

'examples of a frugality and auſterity, worthy of the earli- 'eſt periods of the Roman republic.—Averſe to pomp and 'parade, and all the imperious trappings of royalty, he, 'with a virtue which might do honour to a Stoic, denied 'himſelf the moſt common conveniencies of life.' Vol. II. p. 3, 4.

[k] Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 11, 12, 13, 16.

ceivo

ceive from him much countenance or encouragement [E]. But his ſon, the prince royal, notwith- CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

[E] Voltaire repreſents Frederick William as totally averſe to every kind of literature; and aſſerts, that if he caught the prince-royal "with a book in his hand, he threw it in the "fire; or playing on the flute, he broke his inſtrument." He alſo ſays, "We may eaſily imagine, what would be the "aſtoniſhment and vexation of a Vandal, like this, to find "that he had a ſon endowed with wit, grace, and good "breeding; who delighted to pleaſe, was eager in the ac-"quiſition of knowledge, and who made verſes, and after-"wards ſet them to muſic." That Frederick William was a great enemy to muſic, is a fact that ſeems ſufficiently eſtabliſhed; but that he had ſuch a total averſion to all kinds of literature, as is here ſtated, may poſſibly be doubted. Indeed, Voltaire's account of this prince ſeems to be, in ſome reſpects, rather a caricatura than a juſt portrait. Another writer, however, tells us, that "he deſpiſed aſtronomy, and "all the abſtracted ſciences in general; probably for want "of knowing the relation the different ſorts of ſciences have "to each other." Hiſt. of Pruſſia, p. 525. But from the patronage which he gave to the celebrated John Philip Barretier, of whom an account was publiſhed in French by M. Formey, and in Engliſh by Dr. Johnſon, it may be preſumed, that he had not an equal averſion to every branch of literature. Dr. Johnſon ſays, that when Barretier, then about fifteen years of age, arrived at Berlin, "the king ordered "him to be brought into his preſence, and was ſo much "pleaſed with his converſation, that he ſent for him almoſt "every day during his ſtay at Berlin; and diverted himſelf "with engaging him in converſations upon a multitude of "ſubjects, and in diſputes with learned men: on all which "occaſions he acquitted himſelf ſo happily, that the king "formed the higheſt ideas of his capacity and future emi-"nence. And thinking, perhaps with reaſon, that active "life was the nobleſt ſphere of a great genius, he recom-"mended to him the ſtudy of modern hiſtory, the cuſtoms "of

CHAP. I. A. D. 1728.

notwithſtanding the little care that had been taken of his education, very early diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to literary purſuits, and alſo a great fondneſs for muſic, to which the king his father had an extreme averſion. The baron de Pollnitz, in a letter dated June 6, 1729, ſays of him, "This young prince is hand-"ſome, charms every one by his kindneſs

"of nations, and thoſe parts of learning that are of uſe in "public tranſactions and civil employments, declaring that "ſuch abilities, properly cultivated, might exalt him in ten "years to be the greateſt miniſter of ſtate in Europe." *Life of Barretier*, p. 17, 18. edit. 1744.

It is obſervable, that the account given of Frederick William by Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis XV.* is very different from that given by him in the *Memoirs of his own Life*. In the former he ſays, that Pruſſia was no better than an extenſive deſart, at the acceſſion of Frederick William; but that he, "being poſſeſſed of talents ſuperior to thoſe of his contem-"poraries, expended about twenty-five millions of livres, in "clearing the lands, building villages, and peopling them; "he invited families from Suabia and Franconia; and "brought 16,000 emigrants from Saltſbourg to ſettle in his "territories, furniſhing them with neceſſaries of all ſorts. "While he was thus buſied in eſtabliſhing a new kingdom, "by ſingular œconomy, he became maſter of another ſpecies "of power; every month he laid up in reſerve 40,000 "crowns, which in a reign of twenty years, amounted to "an immenſe ſum of money. What money was not ſent to "the treaſury, was employed in raiſing an army of ſeventy "thouſand choice men, whom he diſciplined himſelf, but "never employed." *Voltaire's Works*, tranſlated from the French, vol. XXXVII. p. 50, 51. edit. 12mo. 1774.

"and

" and good-nature, and loves reading, muſic, " the arts, and magnificence [F]." It appears to have been the year before this, that he began to learn to play on the German flute. Dr. Burney informs us, that in 1728, he was taught to play on that inſtrument by the celebrated Quantz. On this account, ſays that ingenious writer, Quantz " was obliged to go " twice a year to Berlin, Ruppin, or Rheinſ- " berg, the ſeveral reſidences of his royal " ſcholar[1]." The prince, however, had been forbidden by his father not only to ſtudy and practiſe muſic, but even to hear it. But he was encouraged in his taſte for muſic by the queen his mother. Dr. Burney ſays, " M. " Quantz told me, that it was the late queen- " mother, who at this time encouraged the " prince in his favourite amuſement, and who " engaged muſicians for his ſervice; but ſo " neceſſary was ſecrecy in all theſe negocia- " tions, that if the king his father had diſco- " vered that he was diſobeyed, all theſe ſons " of Apollo would have incurred the danger

[F] The baron has another paſſage reſpecting the prince-royal, which ſhews him not to have been endued with a prophetic ſpirit. " His ſentiments," ſays he, " his behaviour, " and his actions, make it probable, that if he comes to the " crown, his reign will be one of thoſe *mild* and *peaceable* " reigns, which procure kings the love of their people, " wherein conſiſts their true glory." Memoirs, vol. I. p. 27.

[1] Preſent ſtate of Muſic in Germany, the Netherlands, &c. vol. II. p. 194, ſecond edition.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

"of being hanged. The prince frequently "took occaſion to meet his muſicians a hunt- "ing, and had his concerts either in a foreſt "or cavern [m]."

WHETHER it was the diſcouragement that he received from his father on account of his love of literature and muſic, or whether it proceeded from any other cauſe, it is certain that, in the year 1730, the prince royal of Pruſſia reſolved to quit his father's dominions privately, and to travel either into France or England [G]. He was to have been accompanied by three officers, to whom he had communicated his project. But his deſign being

[m] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, the Netherlands, &c. vol. II. p. 139.

[G] Voltaire, after ſpeaking of the rigorous treatment which the prince received from the king, ſays, that the former, 'weary of the attentions of ſo kind a father, determined 'one fine morning, in 1730, to elope, without well know- 'ing whether he would fly to France or England. Paternal 'œconomy had deprived him of the power of travelling in 'the ſtyle of ſon and heir to a farmer-general, or even an 'Engliſh tradeſman, and he was obliged to borrow a few 'hundred ducats. Two young gentlemen, both very ami- 'able, one named Katte, the other Keite, were to accom- 'pany him. Katte was the only ſon of a brave general of- 'ficer, and Keite had married the daughter of the baroneſs 'of Kniphauſen.—The day and hour were appointed; the 'father was informed of the whole affair; and the prince, 'and his two travelling companions, were all three put under 'an arreſt.' *Memoirs*, p. 21, 22, 23.

Dr.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

being diſcovered, the execution of it was prevented; and the officers, who had joined with him in the ſcheme, were proſecuted with great ſeverity. Of the manner of the proceedings againſt them, the accounts are ſomewhat different. One writer ſays, that 'his Pruſſian 'majeſty appointed a council of war, to in-'quire into the conduct of theſe officers, which 'aſſembled at Koppenick, a ſmall town near 'Berlin. One of theſe officers was caſhiered, 'and condemned to three years impriſon-'ment; another, being retired into foreign

Dr. Johnſon ſays, that 'it is generally believed, that the 'prince's intention was to come to England, and live under 'the protection of his uncle, till his father's death, or 'change of conduct, ſhould give him liberty to return.' *Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, written in* 1756, *and printed in Dowies's Collection of Miſcellaneous and Fugitive Pieces*, p. 97.

To the account before given, Voltaire adds, 'The king 'believed at firſt, that the princeſs Wilhelmina, his daugh-'ter, who was afterwards married to the Prince Margrave of 'Bareith, was concerned in the plot: and as he was remark-'able for diſpatch in the executive branch of juſtice, he 'proceeded to kick her out of a large window, which open-'ed from the floor to the cieling. The queen-mother, who 'was preſent at this exploit, with great difficulty ſaved her, 'by catching hold of her petticoats, at the moment ſhe was 'making her leap. The princeſs received a contuſion on 'her left breaſt, which remained with her during life, as a 'mark of paternal affection, and which ſhe did me the ho-'nour to ſhew me.' *Memoirs*, p. 23, 24.

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

'countries [H], was outlawed; but the votes 'were divided with regard to young Katte, 'part of the judges finding him guilty of 'death, and the others being of a contrary 'opinion; ſo that they were obliged to leave 'the deciſion of it to the king [n].' Dr. Johnſon ſays, that Katte 'was ordered to be tried 'for a capital crime. The court examined the 'cauſe, and acquitted him; the king remanded him to a ſecond trial, and obliged his 'judges to condemn him [o].' Whatever might be the mode of the proceedings againſt them, it is certain that Katte, who was a young lieutenant in the gens d'armes, was ordered by Frederick William to be beheaded. But as his offence was certainly not of a very heinous kind, he naturally entertained hopes of obtaining a pardon; and accordingly wrote a letter to the king in the German language, of which the following is a tranſlation:

'Sire,

'IT is neither to juſtify myſelf, nor to ex-'cuſe my paſt conduct, nor to prove my in-

[H] Voltaire, who mentions only two officers as being concerned in this tranſaction, ſays, that Keite 'fled into Hol-'land, whither the king diſpatched his military meſſengers 'to ſeize him. He eſcaped merely by a minute, embarked 'for Portugal, and there remained till the death of the moſt 'clement Frederick William.' *Memoirs, ut ſupra*, p. 27.

[n] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, ut ſupra, p. 420, 421.

[o] Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 98.

'nocence,

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

'nocence, that I have the honour to addreſs 'this letter to your majeſty; but, moved by 'a ſincere repentance, and hearty ſorrow, for 'having offended you, I implore your clemen- 'cy, and moſt humbly beſeech you, ſire, to 'have ſome conſideration for my age; which 'makes me more capable of imprudence and 'folly, than of any bad deſign: and, perhaps, 'my inconſiderate zeal has been the only 'cauſe of my crime.

'God, who is the King of kings, and Lord 'of lords, does not always follow the impulſes 'of his juſtice towards ſinners; but often re- 'claims thoſe, who have gone aſtray, by his 'mercy. And will not your majeſty, ſire, 'who are a reſemblance of the Divinity, par- 'don a criminal, who is guilty of diſobedience 'to his ſovereign? The hope of pardon ſup- 'ports me; and I flatter myſelf, that your 'majeſty will not cut me off in the flower of 'my age, but rather give me time to prove to 'you, what effect your majeſty's clemency 'will have on me. I feel myſelf animated 'with a zeal and fidelity, proof againſt all 'temptations, for your ſervice.

'Will not a ſincere acknowledgment of my 'fault be able to procure my pardon? Yes, 'ſire, I own I am very guilty. And will not 'your majeſty grant me a pardon, which God 'never refuſes to the greateſt ſinner, who

'ſincerely

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

'ſincerely confeſſes his ſins to him? Saul was 'guilty of diſobedience to God, David fell 'into various ſins, and Manaſſes was immerſed 'in the moſt heinous crimes; and yet they 'are nevertheleſs ſo many examples of God's 'mercy to thoſe who repent.

'I ſhall be always ready to ſhed even the 'laſt drop of my blood, to ſhew your majeſty, 'what faithful and grateful ſentiments your 'clemency can raiſe in me; and ſhall willing-'ly ſacrifice a life in your ſervice, which I 'ſhall be indebted to you for, and which I 'ſhall only hold from you. Charity, ſire, 'and the compaſſion of God, which aſſures 'me he will not refuſe me his pardon, do 'not ſuffer me to deſpair of your majeſ-'ty's being pleaſed to lend an ear to the 'moſt humble ſupplication of a ſubject, who 'has rebelled, but who has been brought 'back to his duty by a ſincere repentance [p].'

THIS letter of the amiable, but unfortunate young lieutenant, made no impreſſion on the unfeeling Frederick William. Applications were afterwards made to the king in his favour, by perſons of the firſt quality, but without any effect. Lieutenant Katte was beheaded in the beginning of the month of November, 1730, and died with great reſolution [q]. The prince-royal himſelf was confined in the

[p] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 421, 422. [q] Ibid. p. 426.

citadel

citadel of Cuſtrin [I]; and it was at this place that Katte was beheaded, the prince being compelled to be a ſpectator of the execution [K]. The unfortunate officer appears to have had a very pious education, and to have been poſſeſſed of excellent qualities; and Dr. Johnſon ſays, that he left 'behind him ſome 'papers of reflexions made in the priſon, 'which were afterwards printed; and, among 'others, an admonition to the prince for 'whoſe ſake he ſuffered, not to foſter in 'himſelf the opinion of deſtiny, for that a

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

[I] Voltaire ſays, that 'the king ſent him to the citadel 'of Cuſtrin, which was ſituated in the midſt of a marſh. 'Here he was ſhut up, without a ſingle ſervant, for the ſpace 'of ſix months, in a ſort of dungeon, at the end of which 'time he was allowed a ſoldier as an attendant.' *Memoirs*, p. 25. The ſoldier who attended him, whoſe name was FREDERSTORF, was afterwards taken into his ſervice, and became his valet de chambre, and favourite.

[K] The author of the *Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William*, informs us, that the ſentence was 'exe- 'cuted in the ſight of the prince-royal, who could not for- 'bear ſhedding tears, at this young gentleman's untimely 'fate.' But Voltaire ſays farther, that 'the prince had 'been ſome weeks in his palace at Cuſtrin, when one day 'an old officer, followed by four grenadiers, entered his 'chamber, weeping. Frederick had no doubt he was go- 'ing to be made a head ſhorter; but the officer, ſtill in tears, 'ordered the grenadiers to take him to the window, and 'hold his head out of it, that he might be obliged to look 'on the execution of his friend Katte, upon a ſcaffold ex- 'preſsly built there for that purpoſe. He ſaw, ſtretched out 'his hand, and fainted. The father was preſent at this ex- 'hibition.' *Memoirs*, p. 26, 27.

'provi-

CHAP. I. A.D. 1730.

'providence is diſcoverable in every thing 'round us[r].'

FREDERICK WILLIAM was ſo much exaſperated at the deſign of his ſon to quit his dominions, that, not content with the execution of Katte, he is ſaid to have intended to put the prince himſelf to death [L]. The emperor of Germany,

[r] Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 93.

[L] Voltaire informs us, that the king's 'deſign was, to 'have beheaded the prince. He conſidered, that he had 'three other ſons, not one of whom wrote verſes, and that 'they were ſufficient to ſuſtain the Pruſſian grandeur. Meaſures had been already concerted to make him ſuffer, as the 'czarowitz, eldeſt ſon to Peter the Great, had ſuffered be'fore. It is not exceedingly clear, from any known laws, 'human or divine, that a young man ſhould have his head 'ſtruck off, becauſe he had a wiſh to travel. But his ma'jeſty had found judges in Pruſſia, equally as learned and 'equitable as the Ruſſian expounders of law. Beſides that 'his own paternal authority, in a caſe of need, would at any 'time ſuffice. The emperor Charles the Sixth, however, 'pretended, that the prince-royal, as a prince of the empire, 'could not ſuffer condemnation but in a full diet; and ſent 'the count de Seckendorff to the father, in order to make 'very ſerious remonſtrances on that ſubject. The count de 'Seckendorff, whom I have ſince known in Saxony, where 'he lives retired, has declared to me, it was with very great 'difficulty indeed, that he could prevail with the king not 'to behead the prince. This is the ſame Seckendorff, who 'has commanded the armies of Bavaria, and of whom the 'prince, when he came to the throne, drew a hideous por'trait, in the hiſtory of his father, which he inſerted in 'ſome thirty copies of his *Mémoires de Brandebourg*. Who 'would not, after this, ſerve princes, and prevent tyrants 'from cutting off their heads?' Memoirs, p. 30.

The

Germany, however, interpoſed in his favour and, by degrees, the wrath of his Pruſſian majeſty was ſomewhat abated. But about the ſame time that a diſcovery was made of the prince's intended elopement, intelligence was alſo communicated to the king, of an intrigue, or ſuppoſed intrigue, between the prince and a young lady at Potſdam. According to Voltaire's account, ſhe was the daughter of a ſchool-maſter, and had a taſte for muſic. Frederick William ordered her to be ſeized, and publicly whipped through the ſtreets of Berlin [M]; and of this ceremony the prince himſelf

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

The character of count Seckendorff, as it now ſtands in the *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, is as follows: 'George II. had ſcarcely aſcended the Britiſh throne, when 'count Seckendorff came to Berlin. This man ſerved, at 'one and the ſame time, in the Imperial and Saxon troops; 'to the moſt ſordid intereſtedneſs, he united the coarſeſt and 'moſt ruſtic manners; he was by habit ſo inured to lying, 'as to have loſt all ſenſe of truth. His ſoul was that of an 'uſurer, ſometimes animating the body of a ſoldier, and 'ſometimes that of a negociator. This man, however, pro'vidence thought fit to employ to break the treaty of Ha'nover.' Vol. II. p. 70. If Seckendorff really rendered to the prince-royal of Pruſſia, the important ſervice which Voltaire has ſtated, he certainly has not ſhewn a very grateful remembrance of it in the character which he has given of him. But it has been aſſerted, as has been before obſerved in the text, that Seckendorff was ſuſpected of having fomented the miſunderſtanding between the prince-royal and his father. *Vid. Hiſtory of Pruſſia during the reign of Frederick William.* p. 420.

[M] According to the repreſentation given by Voltaire, the prince-royal, when he afterwards came to the throne, did

CHAP. I. A. D. 1730.

ſelf was compelled to be a ſpectator. The king himſelf alſo attended on the occaſion [s].

AFTER the prince-royal had been ſome time cloſely confined at Cuſtrin, the king was prevailed upon, partly by the intreaties of the queen, to allow him greater liberty, and to ſend to him a notification of his pardon [N]. It

did not behave very liberally to the unfortunate female who had ſuffered thus publickly on his account. He ſays, that Frederick allowed her a penſion of ſeventy crowns a year, and that ſhe married the clerk of the Hackney-coach-office at Berlin. *Memoirs*, p. 98.

[s] Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 24, 25.

[N] The writer of the *Hiſtory of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William*, ſays, that 'the lieutenant-generals 'Grumkow, Borck, and Boden, the major-generals Boden-'broeck and Glaſenap, and the colonels Derſchau and Wal-'dau, with M. Thulemeyer, privy counſellor of ſtate, went 'to Cuſtrin, and notified to the prince-royal, that the king, 'out of a paternal motive, and regard to the moſt moving 'letter of interceſſion, which the emperor had wrote to him 'with his own hand, was pleaſed to pardon him; and they 'afterwards declared to the prince his majeſty's orders. The 'prince-royal received them with ſubmiſſion, and expreſſed 'great joy on being received into favour again by the king 'his father; and took from the hands of M. Thulemeyer a 'copy of the *new oath*, which he was to examine, and keep 'by him twenty-four-hours, according to his majeſty's or-'ders. The Sunday following, his royal highneſs was con-'ducted by the commiſſioners into preſident Muncho's apart-'ment, where lieutenant-general Lopel, in the king's name, 'returned him his ſword, and they fixed the croſs of the 'order

It was, however, ſtill required of him, that he ſhould continue to reſide at Cuſtrin [o]; but a magnificent houſe was furniſhed for him there; and it is ſaid, that he "was preſent at "all the conferences of the regency and cham-"ber of the New March, to inform himſelf "thoroughly of the affairs of the interior "country t." But on the 15th of Auguſt, 1731, the king went himſelf in perſon to Cuſtrin, in order to have an interview with his ſon, and to be formally reconciled to him. He was accompanied by general Grumkow; and, on his arrival at Cuſtrin, he alighted at the houſe of major-general Lopel, governor of the place. He ſent for the prince-royal, who immediately came, and threw himſelf at his fa-

'order on his clothes. M. Thulemeyer, after this, read the 'oath with a loud voice, which the prince, who knew it by 'heart, repeated very diſtinctly, word for word, and ſigned 'with his own hand; and, as ſoon as this was done, they 'diſpatched a courier to the king, and then went to church 'to return thanks to God, which the prince did with great 'devotion and humility.' P. 426, 427.

[o] Count Hertzberg informs us, that at Cuſtrin the prince "was obliged to labour in the Chamber of Finances, "as a Counſellor of war, which was in its conſequences "very beneficial to him." *Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere année de la vie de Frederick*, &c. p. 11. During his reſidence at Cuſtrin, he alſo correſponded with general Grumkow on affairs of government; and count Hertzberg ſays, that a very intereſting volume of letters, which paſſed between the prince and the general at that period, is ſtill preſerved. *Ibid.*

t Hiſtory of Pruſſia, p. 427.

ther's

CHAP. I. A. D. 1731.

ther's feet. "The king," we are told, "raiſed "the prince up, and converſed with him, for "near an hour, with a truly paternal tender- "neſs, after which his majeſty went with his "royal highneſs into the hall, where the no- "bility and regency were aſſembled. The "prince-royal, at parting with the king, con- "ducted him to his coach, renewed his ſub- "miſſions, and wiſhed his majeſty a long life "and happy reign; who aſſured him of his "whole affection, and embraced him with "great tenderneſs [u]." He afterwards went pivately to Berlin, where he had an affectionate interview with the queen his mother [p].

[u] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, p. 428.

[p] We are informed, that ſome time after his interview with his father, 'as they were celebrating, at Berlin, the 'nuptials of the prince of Brandenburgh-Bareith, who had 'married the princeſs-royal of Pruſſia, the prince-royal came 'thither *incognito* from Cuſtrin, and entered into the apart- 'ment, where they were keeping the feſtival, without any 'body's knowing him; the clothes he had on giving him 'another air than what he had formerly; and being, be- 'ſides, grown very much during his ſtay at Cuſtrin. The 'queen herſelf did not know him, till the dear prince came 'and embraced her, with equal tranſports of joy and re- 'ſpect.' *Hiſt. of Pruſſia*, p. 428. Voltaire ſays, that the prince was confined at Cuſtrin eighteen months, Memoirs, p. 30.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The prince-royal of Pruſſia, after his reconciliation with his father, applies himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies.—His marriage.—Accompanies his father in a journey to the imperial camp.—Correſponds with Voltaire.—Makes a tour to Holland.—Becomes a free-maſon.—Baron Bielfeld's deſcription of his perſon and manners.—Account of his court at Rheinſberg, and character of his wife, the princeſs royal.—The prince patronizes men of letters, and profeſſors of the fine arts.—His correſpondence with M. Suhm, envoy from the court of Dreſden to the courts of Berlin and Peterſburgh.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1732.

AFTER the prince-royal of Pruſſia was in ſome degree reſtored to the favour of his father, he ſeems chiefly to have reſided at Rheinſberg. He appears, however, ſtill to have been under ſome kind of diſcountenance, and did not frequently appear at court. But this was eventually no diſadvantage to him, as it led him to apply himſelf more aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies: a circumſtance to which he was probably indebted for much of his future greatneſs [Q]. Polite literature, the mathematics

[Q] Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that 'the ſtudies of princes 'ſeldom produce great effects, for princes draw with meaner 'mortals the lot of underſtanding; and ſince of many ſtu- 'dents not more than one can be hoped to advance far towards 'perfection, it is ſcarcely to be expected that we ſhould find 'that

CHAP. II. A. D. 1733.

mathematics, and muſic, were diligently cultivated by him: and his general conduct at this period appears to have been very amiable. But on the 12th of June, 1733 [a], he was compelled by his father to marry Elizabeth Chriſtina, princeſs of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, niece to the empreſs of Germany. To this marriage he was ſo averſe, that though he ſubmitted to the ceremony, he refuſed to cohabit with the princeſs, and adhered to that reſolution to the end of his life.

A. D. 1734.

IN 1734, the king of Pruſſia having ordered 10,000 of his troops to march to the Rhine, to act in favour of the emperor againſt the French,

'that one a prince; that the deſire of ſcience ſhould over-
'power in any mind the love of pleaſure, when it is always
'preſent, or always within call; that laborious meditation
'ſhould be preferred in the days of youth to amuſements and
'feſtivity; or that perſeverance ſhould preſs forward in con-
'tempt of flattery; and that he in whom moderate acquiſi-
'tions would be extolled as prodigies, ſhould exact from
'himſelf that excellence of which the whole world conſpires
'to ſave him the neceſſity. In every great performance,
'perhaps in every great character, part is the effect of na-
'ture, part the contribution of accident, and part, very often
'not the greateſt part, the effect of voluntary election, and
'regular deſign. The king of Pruſſia was undoubtedly born
'with more than common abilities; but that he cultivated
'them with more than common diligence, was probably the
'effect of his peculiar condition, of that which he then con-
'ſidered as cruelty and misfortune.' Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, ut ſupra, p. 99, 100.

[a] Hiſtory of Pruſſia, p. 475.

he

CHAP. II. A. D. 1734.

he repaired himſelf to the imperial camp, accompanied by the prince-royal. His deſign was, to take a view of the army, and to attend to the operations of prince Eugene, who commanded the army of the emperor. But they had not an opportunity of ſeeing any great diſplay of the military talents of that illuſtrious general. He was now far advanced in years; and ſeemed unwilling to hazard, by a doubtful action, the great reputation that he had acquired. Philipſburg was taken by the French; and they were ſo ably commanded, firſt by the duke of Berwick, and after his death by marſhal D'Aſfeld, that the campaign terminated without prince Eugene being able to obtain any advantage over them.

AFTER his return, the prince-royal continued to apply himſelf cloſely to his ſtudies at Rheinſberg [R], where ſeveral men of letters paid

[R] The following deſcription is given of RHEINSBERG, by baron Bielfeld, in a letter dated October 30, 1739. 'This is a ſmall, but very pleaſing city, although ſituated 'in a moſt barren ſand, on the frontiers of Mecklenbourg. 'It contains about a thouſand inhabitants, and was formerly 'the property of a French refugee gentleman. The king has 'purchaſed it, and given it to the prince-royal, with the 'caſtle, the gardens, the foreſts, and ſome lands that are de-'pendent on it. The caſtle was, in a manner, in ruins, 'and there was ſcarcely any garden, when the prince ob-'tained the gift; and which is the more valuable to him, as 'his regiment is in garriſon at Ruppin, which is but ſix 'miles from hence, and in this country the garriſons never 'change.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1734.

paid their court to him. But their attendance there was far from being pleaſing to the king.

'He change. The ſituation of the caſtle itſelf is very fine. An immenſe lake bathes almoſt its foundations; and, on the oppoſite ſide, a beautiful foreſt of oaks and beech riſes in form of an amphitheatre. The antient building conſiſted of only one range of rooms, with a wing terminated by an old tower. This edifice, and its ſituation, gave to the prince-royal an opportunity of diſplaying his genius and his taſte; and to baron Knobelſtorff, intendant of the buildings, his talent for architecture. The main body was repaired, and embelliſhed externally with arched windows and very elegant ſtatues and ornaments; another wing and tower are added, which correſpond with old ones; and the two towers are connected by a double colonnade, on the platform of which is a gallery of communication, that is ornamented with vaſes and groups of infants. By this arrangement the whole building now forms an exact ſquare. We are led to it by a bridge decorated with ſtatues, repreſenting the ſeven planets, and to which each holds in his hand a lamp in form of a globe. To enter the inner court, we paſs under a noble portal, over which is the following inſcription, engraved by order of M. Knobelſtorff, *Frederico Tranquillitatem colenti*. The inſide of this palace ſtill excells the outſide, as well in the beauty and diſtribution of the apartments, as in the taſte and richneſs of the furniture. Which way ſoever the eye turns, it is ſtruck with a profuſion of gilding and carving: all theſe ornaments, however, are diſpoſed with judgment and reſerve, and the deſigns are highly admirable. As the prince admires the tender colours only, there are ſeveral apartments furniſhed in gridelin, ſea green, and fleſh colour, the mouldings and ornaments of which are of ſilver. All theſe form a very pleaſing diverſity and give this palace an air equally gay and

'He apprehended,' ſays baron Bielfeld, 'that their converſation tended to promote that pre- CHAP. II. A. D. 1735.

'and noble. The moſt elegant apartment, which is not yet 'finiſhed, but on which they are inceſſantly labouring, is a 'ſuperb hall, completely lined with factitious marble, and 'ornamented with mirrours and bronzes. The celebrated 'Peſne is now engaged in painting the cieling; it repreſents 'the riſing of the ſun; on one ſide, night covered with her 'veils, ſurrounded by her gloomy birds, and followed by 'the hours, retires, and makes room for Aurora, who is re- 'preſented under the figure of Venus, is attended by the 'morning ſtar, and occupies the center of the piece: we 'next ſee the white horſes that draw the chariot of Apollo, 'and the rays of that god juſt appear. This ſubject is alle- 'goric, and ſeems to allude to an epoch that, perhaps, is 'not far diſtant.'

'The gardens of Rheinſberg, which extend the length of 'the whole lake, are not yet arrived to maturity; for it is 'but a few years ſince their commencement. The plan is 'great and beautiful; time muſt do the reſt. The principal 'alley is terminated by an obeliſk covered with Egyptian hie- 'roglyphics. There are delightful groves, and verdant ſa- 'loons and bowers, very happily diſpoſed. The prince is 'building a ſuperb orangery, in a taſte perfectly new, after 'the deſign of Mr. Knobelſtorff. The ground is alſo laying 'out for planting the next year, a labyrinth, which is to 'lead to the temple of Bacchus, placed in the center. 'Twelve ſatyrs, of gigantic ſtature, ſerve for columns to this 'temple, and ſuſtain the dome, which is in form of an in- 'verted punch-bowl. All the avenues are planted with ivy, 'vines, yews, and cypreſs. Two handſome barges, built 'by the prince's order, float upon the lake, ready to carry 'thoſe who love excurſions upon the water, or that are de- 'ſirous of going to the foreſt, which is called the *Boubero*.' Letters, vol. III. p. 74—79.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'dominant paſſion for ſtudy, which appeared 'in the prince: and though he was the father, 'and of a penetrating diſpoſition, he knew not 'the ſoul of Cæſar. He could not conceive 'that a genius, which was capable of paint-'ing victories, was capable of obtaining them.' [x]

As the prince was very fond of French literature, he was much attached to the works of VOLTAIRE, and commenced a correſpondence with him. His firſt letter to that celebrated writer, of which the following is a tranſlation, was dated the 8th of Auguſt, 1736.

'SIR,

'Though I have not the ſatisfaction of your 'perſonal acquaintance, you are well known 'to me by your works. If you will allow me 'the expreſſion, they are treaſures of wit, 'pieces wrought with ſuch exquiſite taſte, 'that every peruſal diſcovers new beauties. 'I fancy that in them I can trace the charac-'ter of their ingenious author, who does ho-'nour to human nature.

'Should ever the diſpute concerning the 'ſuperiority of the antients be renewed; the 'great men of modern times will be obliged 'to you, and to you only, for turning the ba-'lance in their favour.

'To an excellent poetical genius, you add 'a fund of varied knowledge, which, in truth,

[x] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, tranſlated by Hooper, vol. III. p. 121.

'has

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'has ſome affinity with poetry, but never was 'appropriated to it, except by your pen. 'Never before did poet reduce metaphyſical 'thoughts to cadence; that honour was re- 'ſerved for M. de Voltaire. The taſte for 'philoſophy, diſplayed in your writings, has 'induced me to ſend you the accuſation and 'defence of M. Wolfius, which has been tranſ- 'lated by my direction. That gentleman, 'the moſt celebrated philoſopher of our age, 'has thrown light upon the darkeſt parts of 'metaphyſics [s]; and becauſe he has treated 'theſe difficult ſubjects in a manner equally 'ſublime, exact, and elegant, he is cruelly ac- 'cuſed of Atheiſm. Such is the deſtiny of 'great men: their ſuperior genius is always 'expoſed to the envenomed ſhafts of calumny 'and envy.

'I have given orders for the tranſlation of 'another work, by the ſame author, entitled, '*A Treatiſe of God, the Soul, and the World.* I 'ſhall ſend it to you as ſoon as it is finiſhed, 'and I have not the leaſt doubt but that you 'will be ſtruck by the ſtrong evidence of each 'of his propoſitions, which follow in a geo- 'metrical order, and are connected like the 'links of a chain.

'The kindneſs and ſupport you ſhew your- 'ſelf ready to beſtow on all who devote them-

[s] If Voltaire may be credited, Frederick did not afterwards think ſo highly of the productions of Wolfius: for he informs us, that he ſtiled him "a compiler of traſh y."

y Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 30.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'ſelves to the arts and ſciences, make me 'hope, that you will not exclude me from the 'number of thoſe you think worthy of your 'inſtructions. I call your correſpondence by 'that name, which cannot fail of being profit-'able to every thinking being. I even dare 'affirm, without derogating from the merit of 'any man, that there is ſcarcely an individual in 'the univerſe, who might not, with juſtice, own 'you to be his maſter. Without laviſhing in-'cenſe unworthy of being offered to you, I 'can ſafely ſay, that your works abound with 'numberleſs beauties. Your *Henriade* charms 'me, and happily triumphs over the injudi-'cious *critique* by which it has been attacked. 'Your tragedy of *Cæſar* preſents us with a ſet 'of characters well ſupported. The ſenti-'ments are uniformly grand and ſublime: we 'feel that Brutus is either a Roman, or an 'Engliſhman.

'To the graces of novelty, *Alzira* joins a 'happy contraſt between the Savage and Eu-'ropean manners. In the character of *Guſman*, 'you ſhew, that Chriſtianity, ill underſtood, 'and under the guidance of miſtaken zeal, 'inſpires the heart with more barbarous fero-'city than Paganiſm itſelf. Corneille, the 'great Corneille, who attracted the univerſal 'admiration of his age, were he to riſe from 'the dead in our days, would behold with 'wonder, and perhaps not without a mixture 'of envy, the Goddeſs laviſh thoſe favours 'upon you, which ſhe beſtowed upon him

with

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'with a ſparing hand:—what may not be expected from the author of ſo many maſterpieces! What new wonders will not flow from that pen, which formerly, with ſuch wit and elegance, traced out *the Temple of Taſte!*

'This makes me ſo ardently deſire the poſſeſſion of all your works. I entreat you, Sir, to ſend them, and to communicate the whole without reſerve. Should there be any manuſcript, that, by a neceſſary circumſpection, you may think proper to keep from the public eye, I promiſe to conceal it in the boſom of ſecrecy, and to content myſelf with admiring it in private. Unhappily, I am ſenſible, that, in our days, no great truſt is repoſed in the faith of princes: however, I hope, you will not ſuffer yourſelf to be miſled by general prejudices, but make an exception to the rule in my favour.

'I ſhould think myſelf richer in the poſſeſſion of your works, than if I were maſter of all the periſhing and contemptible gifts of fortune, which the ſame blind chance confers and takes away.

'Your works may be made our own by the help of memory, and till that fails they will remain.—Senſible of the ſmall extent of mine, I balance a long time before I determine what deſerves a place in it.

'If poeſy were ſtill upon the former footing;—if its writers could only trill tireſome

'idylls,

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'idylls, eclogues caſt in an unvaried mould, 'inſipid ſtanzas, or at moſt, could only tune 'their lyre to elegiac notes, I would renounce 'it for ever; but in your hand the art is en-'nobled; you have pointed out to us new 'paths, and traced a route unknown to *** 'and ***.

'Your performances command reſpect: 'they deſerve to be admired and ſtudied by 'men of ſenſe and taſte. They form a com-'pleat ſyſtem of morals, by which the world 'may learn to think and to act.—Virtue is 'painted in the moſt amiable colours.—The 'idea of true glory is fixed, and a taſte for 'the ſciences inſpired in a manner ſo refined 'and delicate, that whoever reads your works 'muſt feel an ambition to imitate them.—How 'often have I ſaid to myſelf, *Attempt not a 'burthen too heavy for your ſtrength; Voltaire can 'be imitated only by a Voltaire!* Thoſe are the 'moments in which I feel how vain and emp-'ty are the advantages of birth: thoſe ſounds, 'the marks of diſtinctions foreign to ourſelves, 'and only ornamental to the outſide.—How 'preferable to thoſe are the talents of genius!

'What do we not owe to thoſe men, whom 'nature diſtinguiſhed at their formation; whom 'ſhe delighted to furniſh with a capacity neceſ-'ſary to make a proficiency in the arts, and 'whoſe vigils it is the duty of princes to re-'compenſe? Ah! why cannot I be the glori-'ous inſtrument of crowning your ſucceſs? I

'ſhould

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

'ſhould only be apprehenſive, that this rude 'climate could not furniſh ſo many laurels 'as your works deſerve. Should deſtiny be 'ſo unfavourable as to deny me the happineſs 'of making you my own, at leaſt may I hope 'one day to ſee the man whom I have ſo long 'admired at a diſtance, and to aſſure you in 'perſon, that with all the eſteem and conſide-'ration due to thoſe, who, guided by the light 'of truth, conſecrate their labours to the pub-'lic utility.

'I am, &c.'

THIS letter may be conſidered as an extraordinary production for a prince; and ſhews how much ſuperior his intellectual attainments were to thoſe of the generality of princes. But his admiration of VOLTAIRE was exceſſive; and it was, perhaps, a misfortune, both to himſelf, and to the world, that he ſhould ſo early become the zealous diſciple of a writer, who was as much diſtinguiſhed by the pernicious ſcepticiſm of his productions, as by the brilliancy of his wit, and the originality of his genius. From him, however, he probably derived that attachment to the principles of religious toleration, which he manifeſted throughout his whole reign, and which was in the higheſt degree beneficial to his ſubjects.

AMONG other perſons of a literary taſte, with whom the prince-royal of Pruſſia con-

[2] Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade, tranſlated from the French, 8vo. 1777. Lond. p. 24, 25, &c.

nected

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

nected himſelf, one was M. ULRIC FREDERICK DE SUHM, privy-counſellor to the elector of Saxony, who was ſent as envoy extraordinary to the court of Berlin, a ſtation in which he continued about ten years. The prince was not more than eight years of age when M. Suhm arrived at Berlin; and when, ſome years after, a great friendſhip for the Saxon miniſter was manifeſted by the prince, the intercourſe between them excited a conſiderable jealouſy in Frederick William. M. Suhm and the prince often paſſed much time together, in diſcourſing on ſubjects of literature and philoſophy, and their converſations were ſometimes extended to a very late hour of the night. This gave the more offence to the king, becauſe M. Suhm was a great admirer of WOLFIUS, of the tendency of whoſe writings Frederick William had conceived a very unfavourable opinion. The diſlike of the king to M. Suhm ſeems to have occaſioned his recall to Dreſden: but the prince had formed ſo ſtrong an attachment to him, that his removal did not prevent the continuance of their correſpondence.

IN 1736, M. Suhm undertook, at the deſire of the prince, to tranſlate into the French language the METAPHYSICS of WOLFIUS. The original was in German; and it was a circumſtance ſomewhat ſingular, that a German prince ſhould be ſo extremely ſolicitous, as Frederick appears to have been, to read the work of Wolfius, not in the original, but in a French tranſlation. But the prince-royal of Pruſſia

Pruſſia had very early conceived a great prejudice againſt his native language. Suhm's tranſlation was ſent, ſheet by ſheet, incloſed in his letters; and much of the correſpondence which has been publiſhed, between him and the prince, was upon this ſubject. In one of the prince's letters, dated at Ruppin, April 27, 1736, is the following paſſage: "I ſtudy Wolfius with great application, and I form myſelf more and more to his manner of thinking, which is very juſt and profound [a]." In another letter, ſpeaking of Wolfius, he ſays, "I admire the great profundity of this celebrated philoſopher, who has ſtudied nature as no perſon before has ever done, and who has attained to an ability of aſſigning reaſons for things, which heretofore were not only obſcure and confuſed, but even totally unintelligible. It ſeems to me, that I acquire every day more light from him; and that at every propoſition that I ſtudy, a new ſcale falls from my eyes. His work ought to be univerſally read, in order to teach men to think, and to follow the thread, or the connexion of ideas, in the ſearch after truth [b]."

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

The ſame year a French tranſlation was publiſhed of the Logic of Wolfius by M. Deſ-

[a] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe avec U. F. de Suhm, Conſeiller, &c. Tom. I. p. 23. Amſt. 1787. 12mo.

[b] Ibid. p. 39.

champs

CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

champs [T], with a moſt flattering dedication to the prince-royal of Pruſſia. But this adulation did not meet with a very favourable reception from Frederick. In a letter to M. Suhm, the prince ſays, 'I confeſs to you, 'my dear DIAPHANES [U], that the dedica-'tion of M. Deſchamps appears to me ex-'tremely inſipid. It is not ſo much offering 'incenſe, as flinging the cenſer at one's head. 'Thus to praiſe a perſon, with whom he ac-'knowledges he is not acquainted, is to write 'panegyric on a hero of romance; on an ima-'ginary being, that exiſts no where but in the 'writer's brain. Had this dedication been 'prefixed to a tragedy, or an epic poem, an 'apology might have been made for the au-'thor, by alleging, that, inflamed with the ar-'dours of poetry, he had been hurried away 'by a heated imagination, without having time 'to liſten to reaſon. But, by prefixing ſuch

[T] JOHN DESCHAMPS was ſon to a clergyman at Berlin, and having been himſelf educated for the miniſtry, had preached as a candidate in the church at Rheinſberg. He publiſhed a courſe of the Wolfian philoſophy, in the form of letters to a friend. But when Voltaire arrived at Berlin, after the acceſſion of Frederick III. he was attacked in a publication of Deſchamps's, which gave great offence to the king. Deſchamps was thereupon ridiculed in a comedy performed at court, and of which Frederick himſelf was ſuppoſed to be the author. With this circumſtance Deſchamps was ſo much affected, that he quitted his native country for ever, and went into England, where he became miniſter of the church in the Savoy. He died in 1760.

[U] DIAPHANES is a name given by Frederick to M. Suhm, and by which he generally addreſſed him in his letters.

'a de-

'a dedication to a treatiſe on logic, the poor translator has fallen, according to my apprehenſion, into an eſſential error, and ſhewn that he does not himſelf underſtand the art of reaſoning. When the tranſlator ſent it to me, I deſired that my thanks might be returned to him, for the excellent work that he had dedicated to me; but at the ſame time I informed him, that, ſenſible to the good wiſhes expreſſed in his dedication, I ſhould be ungrateful if I did not, for his own ſake, wiſh that he had entirely altered the ſtyle of it [c].' CHAP. II. A. D. 1736.

It appears from a letter of the prince's to M. Suhm, dated from Berlin, June 22, 1737, that inſinuations had been thrown out to the king his father, that his highneſs had no religion; and that Frederick William at firſt gave credit to theſe inſinuations. But the prince at length pacified him, by his ſtrict attention to military diſcipline, and by procuring ſome tall ſoldiers. 'You know,' ſays Frederick, that the accuſation of irreligion is the 'laſt refuge of calumniators. After this, nothing farther can be ſaid. The king took fire; I kept myſelf cloſe; my regiment did 'wonders; and their dexterity in handling 'their arms, a little flour ſcattered on the ſoldiers heads, men above ſix feet high, together with a great many recruits, were arguments more powerful than thoſe of my ac- A. D. 1737.

[c] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe avec U. F. de Suhm, Conſeiller, &c. Tom. I. p. 70, 71.

'cuſers.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1737.

'cuſers. Every thing is now quiet, and I hear 'nothing more either of religion, or my per-'ſecutors[d].' In order to put his father in good humour, the prince occaſionally procured from abroad men of uncommon ſtature; and M. Suhm, who was now ſent as envoy from the court of Dreſden to that of Peterſburgh, was ſometimes employed as an agent for that purpoſe. Among others, he procured for him ſeveral very tall and handſome Turks[e].

In a letter from M. Suhm to the prince, dated from Peterſburgh, Aug. 13, 1737, he gave him an account of the great exploits of count Munich, in the war which was then carrying on between the Ruſſians and the Turks. To this letter the prince returned an anſwer, in which is the following paſſage: 'I have receiv-'ed, my dear Diaphanes, your warlike letter, 'in which I ſee nothing but the triumphs of 'count Munich, and the defeat of the Turks 'and Tartars. I confeſs to you, that I am one 'of thoſe perſons, who love to partake of the 'glory of others; and that, without philoſo-'phy, I ſhould ſee with ſome uneaſineſs ſo 'many great actions, in which I have had no 'ſhare. Count Munich ſeems to be the Alex-'ander of the age; he gains battles, with as 'much eaſe as they overturn houſes of cards; 'and conquers provinces with more rapidity 'than others paſs through them. 'It is a hap-

[d] Correſpondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe avec U. F. de Suhm, Conſeiller, &c. Tom. II. p. 5, 6, 7.

[e] Ibid. p. 74, 80, 88, 96.

'pineſs

'pineſs to come into the world at a proper 'time and place, without which one can do 'nothing. The PRINCE OF ANHALT, who is, 'perhaps, the greateſt general of the age, con- 'tinues in a ſtate of obſcurity: a misfortune 'of which no one but himſelf can be ſufficient- 'ly ſenſible: while others, who are greatly 'his inferiors, are become the arbiters of the 'earth. This evinces the truth of the remark 'that I am making, that it is not ſufficient 'merely to have merit, but one muſt be placed 'in a proper ſituation, in order to be enabled 'to exhibit it advantageouſly. The peace- 'able inhabitants of Rheinſberg are not ſo 'warlike; I am more employed in clearing 'lands, than in cutting the throats of men; 'and I find myſelf a thouſand times more hap- 'py in deſerving a civic crown, than a tri- 'umph. We are going to perform the OEDI- 'PUS of Voltaire, in which I am to be the 'hero of the theatre. I have choſen the part 'of PHILOCTETES. One muſt content one's 'ſelf with ſomething[f].' Notwithſtanding the prince's philoſophy, it is ſufficiently apparent from this letter, that he then wiſhed to perform a more important part on the theatre of the world.

CHAP. II. A. D. 1737.

IN July, 1738, the king of Pruſſia accompanied by the prince-royal, and attended by a

A. D. 1738.

[f] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, &c. ut ſupra, p. 16, 17, 18.

numerous

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

numerous retinue, made a tour to Holland, and paid a viſit to the prince of Orange. It happened, that, at this time, a converſation took place at the prince of Orange's table, which occaſioned the prince-royal of Pruſſia to become a free-maſon. The ſubject of free-maſonry being introduced, the king of Pruſſia ſpoke diſadvantageouſly of that inſtitution; upon which count Lippe, who was one of the company, avowed himſelf to be a free-maſon, and zealouſly defended the fraternity of which he was a member. The prince-royal was ſo much pleaſed with what had been advanced by the count in favour of the inſtitution, that he afterwards expreſſed to him, in confidence, his deſire to become a member of the ſociety; and added, that he wiſhed to be admitted into it at Brunſwick, at the time of the fair, which was then approaching, and at which his father had reſolved to be preſent. His reaſon was, that the concourſe of ſtrangers at Brunſwick at that time, would occaſion leſs notice to be taken of the arrival of the other maſons, who ſhould attend there to form a lodge for the purpoſe [s]. The whole was adjuſted agreeably to the prince's deſire; and he was admitted into the ſociety of free-maſons, at Brunſwick, in the middle of the month of Auguſt [v]. The prince was at this time in his twenty-ſeventh

[s] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 30.

[v] The following particulars reſpecting the prince's admiſſion, and his behaviour on the occaſion, are related by Bielfeld.

ſeventh year; and it was on this occaſion that he firſt became acquainted with M. Bielfeld, who was preſent at the ceremony, and whom he afterwards took into his ſervice, and created a baron; and who has given the following deſcription of the prince's perſon and manners at that time. 'He is not,' ſays he, 'of a remarkable ſtature; and would not have been 'choſen to have ruled in the place of Saul; 'but when we conſider the ſtrength and beauty of his genius, we cannot but deſire, for 'the proſperity of the people, to ſee him fill 'the throne of Pruſſia. His features are highly 'pleaſing, with a ſprightly look, and a noble 'air; and it depends altogether on himſelf to CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

'Bielfeld. On the 14th (of Auguſt) the whole day was 'ſpent in preparations for the lodge; and a little after mid-'night we ſaw the prince-royal arrive, accompanied by count 'W. captain in the king's regiment at Potſdam. The prince 'preſented this gentleman as a candidate whom he recom-'mended; and whoſe reception he wiſhed immediately to 'ſucceed his own. He deſired us likewiſe to omit in his re-'ception not any one rigorous ceremony, that was uſed 'in ſimilar caſes; to grant him no indulgence whatever; 'but gave us leave on this occaſion to treat him merely as a 'private perſon. In a word, he was received with all the 'uſual and requiſite formalities. I admired his intrepidity, 'the ſerenity of his countenance, and his graceful deport-'ment, even in the moſt critical moments. I had prepared 'a ſhort addreſs, of which he teſtified his approbation. 'After the two receptions, we opened the lodge, and 'proceeded to our work. He appeared highly delight-'ed, and acquitted himſelf with as much dexterity as diſ-'cernment.' Letters, vol. III. p. 36.

'appear

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

'appear perfectly engaging. A *petit maître* 'of Paris would not, perhaps, admire his '*friſure:* his hair, however, is of a bright 'brown, carelesly curled, but well adapted 'to his countenance. His large, blue eyes, 'have at once ſomething ſevere, ſoft, and gra- 'cious. I was ſurprized to find in him ſo 'youthful an air. His behaviour, in every re- 'ſpect, is that of a perſon of exalted rank; 'and he is the moſt polite man in all that 'kingdom over which he is born to rule[h].'

As the prince-royal had a regiment under his command, which was in garriſon at RUPPIN, he was occaſionally at that place, where he had a houſe [w]; but his chief reſidence was at RHEINSBERG, where he held his court. The marſhal of his court was M. WOLDEN, who was ſomewhat advanced in years; but he had a young wife, who was a handſome and accompliſhed woman, and who made a diſtinguiſhed figure at the court of Rheinſberg. FREDERSTORF, the ſoldier who had at-

[h] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 37, 38.

[w] Baron Bielfeld ſays, 'His highneſs's reſidence at 'RUPPIN is in an old houſe, but it is charmingly furniſhed. 'There are moreover delicious gardens, which are formed in 'an old triple rampart that ſurrounds the city; and conſiſts 'of alleys, walks, repoſes, and beautiful viſtas: and at the 'end of theſe walks is a more regular garden, ornamented 'with hedges, vaſes, ſtatues, bowers, a pavilion, a grotto, a 'bath, the temple of Apollo, and many other embelliſhments. 'There we frequently dine, and breathe a conſtant ſpirit 'of gaiety.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 112, 113.

tended

tended the prince when he was closely confined at Custrin, was now transformed into the first gentleman of his bed-chamber. Among the prince's favourites were baron KEYSERLING [x], M. BIELFELD, afterwards baron

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

[x] THIERRY, Baron KEYSERLING, appears to have been a man of amiable, but singular character. The following account of his person and behaviour is given by Bielfeld, when he first saw him at Rheinsberg. 'Baron Keyserling is a 'gentleman of Courland, engaged in the military service of 'the king of Prussia, and particularly attached to the person 'of the prince-royal. It was some time before I could meet 'with him, and I had heard so much of him, and was so 'much prejudiced in his favour, that I burned with impa- 'tience to see him. He entered the hall like a whirlwind, 'or like Boreas in the ballet of the Rose. He was just come 'from hunting; and it appeared odd enough to see him in a 'night gown, and with a gun upon his shoulder. He ac- 'costed me at once with an air of perfect ease; and his first 'words appeared to me, as if I had been for a long time 'honoured with his particular friendship. He took me by 'the arm, and led me into his chamber; and while he dress- 'ed, he repeated scraps of the *Henriade*, and strings of Ger- 'man verses, and talked of hounds and horses; cut some 'cross capers; and practised some steps in the rigadoon 'a la Balon; then talked of politics, mathematics, painting, 'architecture, literary and political matters. I remained 'immoveable, listened with a profound silence, and admired 'every thing, even the happy transitions by which he passed 'so rapidly from one subject to another. I seemed, how- 'ever, to perceive, that this extreme vivacity could not be 'altogether natural, and that it did not entirely flow from 'an abundant resource of genius; and though time has not 'quite banished this suspicion, I find nevertheless, on a far- 'ther acquaintance, that baron Keyserling is a very amiable 'gentleman; that he has a mind adorned with much pleas- 'ing

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

baron Bielfeld, and the chevalier DE CHASOT, a young gentleman of Normandy, of good talents, and a gay and ſprightly temper, who had ſerved in the French army. With this gentleman the prince became acquainted,

'ing knowledge; that he both talks, and writes well, and 'in verſe as well as in proſe; and that he has a humour na- 'turally gay, and a noble heart. His figure is not very en- 'gaging; he is ſhort and thick; has ſmall eyes, a large noſe, 'a wide mouth, and a ſallow complexion. He has, how- 'ever, an eaſy air, a graceful preſence, and all that he ſays, 'or does, is in the manner of a man of birth. By attaching 'himſelf to the prince-royal he has contracted his taſte. He 'loves muſic, architecture, painting, poetry, &c.'

When Frederick III. aſcended the throne, baron Keyſerling was ſo agitated with joy, that it threw him into a fever. In 1743, he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. He was a knight of Malta, and the king made him colonel of cavalry, and adjutant-general, and gave him a conſiderable penſion. He lived too freely, and was much afflicted with the gout. He afterwards fell into a decline, and died on the 13th of Auguſt, 1745, at the age of forty-ſeven. The king's attachment to baron Keyſerling appears to have been greater, than to almoſt any other of his favourites. He gave him the name of CESARION, and a poetical epiſtle addreſſed to him, under that name, is printed among the king's poems; in which Frederick ſpeaks of him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, extols his amiable qualities, and repreſents himſelf as having, by his death, ſuſtained an irreparable loſs. The baron left an infant ſon, whom the king took under his own immediate care and protection. He alſo made a liberal proviſion for his widow. It appears from an *Elge* on Baron Keyſerling, publiſhed in the Works of Maupertuis, that he tranſlated into French verſe ſome odes of Horace, and alſo Pope's Rape of the Lock.

when

when he went with his father, in 1734, to attend the operations of prince Eugene on the Rhine. CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

THOUGH the prince-royal did not cohabit with his wife, yet ſhe reſided in the palace at Rheinſberg, and took a part in the amuſements of the place; and, notwithſtanding the prince's averſion to the alliance, ſhe is repreſented as a very beautiful and accompliſhed princeſs. Bielfeld, who was a courtier, and may therefore be ſuſpected of a little flattery, has given the following deſcription of her perſon and manners. 'Her royal highneſs is tall of ſta-
'ture; and her figure is, in one word, per-
'fect. Never have I ſeen a more regular
'ſhape in all its proportions. Her neck, her
'hands, and her feet, might ſerve as models
'to the painter. Her hair, which I have par-
'ticularly admired, is of a moſt beautiful
'flaxen, but ſomewhat inclining to white;
'and ſhines, when not powdered, like rows
'of pearls. Her complexion is remarkably
'fine; and, in her large blue eyes, vivacity
'and ſweetneſs are ſo happily blended, as to
'make them perfectly animated. The princeſs
'has an open countenance; her eye-brows
'are neat and regular; her noſe is ſmall and
'angular, but very elegantly defined; and her
'coral lips, and well-turned neck, are equally
'admirable. Goodneſs is ſtrongly marked in
'her countenance; and we may ſay, from her
'whole figure, that the Graces have exerted
'themſelves in forming a great princeſs. Even
'thoſe little negligences, which are ſometimes

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

'ſeen in her dreſs, or her manner, have a happy effect; though her highneſs's dreſs, in general, is perfectly regular, and in excellent taſte. There is ſcarcely any princeſs in Europe who has ſo many fine diamonds, and no one who diſpoſes them to more advantage. I have ſeen on her robe an aſſemblage of brilliants, heightened by amethyſts, of ſuch tranſcendent beauty, that my eyes could ſcarcely bear the blaze of their luſtre. Her highneſs talks but little, eſpecially at table; but all ſhe ſays is ſterling ſenſe. She appears to have an uncommon genius, and which ſhe ornaments by the continual ſtudy of the beſt French authors. Madam von Katſch [y] aſſures me, that ſhe has a moſt amiable heart, and that her whole character is ſupremely excellent; of which ſhe frequently gives me the moſt charming inſtances. Every evening, at ſix, her highneſs has a party at quadrille, or triſſet, and plays with a noble indifference. Never, in my opinion, did any princeſs dance in greater perfection: her manner is at once graceful, eaſy, elegant, and majeſtic. It is ſufficient to behold this princeſs, to know, that ſhe is a lady of the moſt exalted rank[i].'

[y] Madam von Katſch was firſt lady of the bed-chamber to the princeſs royal. Bielfeld ſays, 'I can conceive of nothing more reſpectable than this lady. Gravity and ſweetneſs, decency and gaiety, dignity and politeneſs, are united in her countenance and her behaviour; and ſhe is the patroneſs of all that is good and amiable.' Letters, vol. III. p. 88.

[i] Letters of Baron Bielfeld, p. 98.

AT

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

At Rheinſberg literature and the fine arts were patronized and cultivated; and ſeveral perſons of merit were lodged and maintained by the prince in the palace. Among theſe were, M. JORDAN, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; and M. SONNING, an old officer of artillery, who had loſt a leg in the ſervice, and by whom the prince had been inſtructed in mathematics and fortification. Baron KNOBELSTORF, who had been in the army, but who was withdrawn from it, and who was much diſtinguiſhed by his talents in painting and architecture, was likewiſe a reſident here; as were alſo PESNE, a painter of eminence, CHARLES HENRY GRAUN, maſter of the prince's chapel, JOHN GOTTLIB GRAUN, his concert maſter, and FRANCIS BENDA, famous for his excellence in playing on the violin, and for his fine compoſitions for that inſtrument: and the inhabitants of the prince's palace are repreſented as enjoying in it great liberty [z].

AMONG

[z] Bielfeld ſays, 'All who live in this palace enjoy a 'perfect liberty, for their particular employments, or pri'vate pleaſures. We ſee the prince and princeſs only at ta'ble, at play, at the ball, the concert, or other common plea'ſures of which we participate. Time, ſo precious to a 'thinking being, and ſo tedious to one who does not think, 'is not here paſſed by lying long in bed, in making a long 'breakfaſt, or in pacifying or diſpatching of duns, or in 'grave conferences with a taylor, or ſuch other important 'viſitor, or at a tedious toilet, or by dancing attendance 'in an anti-chamber, and paſſing the remainder of the 'day

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

AMONG other literary men, who were introduced to the prince of Pruſſia at Rheinſberg, was

'day in frivolous diſcourſe. Here every one reads, re-'flects, draws, paints, or plays on ſome inſtrument; or 'writes and muſes, or employs himſelf in his apartment; 'and is dreſſed with elegance, though not oſtentation, by 'the hour of dinner.' Ibid. p. 92.

In another place, he ſays, 'Our days here paſs away in 'a tranquil manner, and enlivened by every enjoyment that 'can pleaſe a rational mind. Royal chear, wine for the 'gods, the muſic of angels; delicious paſtimes in the gar-'dens, in the woods, upon the waters; the cultivation of 'letters and the polite arts, and a refined converſation; all 'concur to ſpread their powers over this enchanting palace.' Ibid. p. 98.

It ſeems from what is ſaid by Bielfeld afterwards, that the prince's wine at Rheinſberg was ſometimes, though not frequently, uſed too freely both by himſelf and his courtiers. 'About a fortnight ſince,' ſays he, 'the prince was in a hu-'mour of extraordinary gaiety at table. His gaiety animat-'ed all the reſt; and ſome glaſſes of champaign ſtill more 'enlivened our mirth. The prince, perceiving our diſpo-'ſition, was willing to promote it; and, on riſing from table 'told us he was determined we ſhould re commence our 'jollity at ſupper, and in the ſame place where we had left 'off. Towards evening I was called to the concert; at the 'end of which the prince ſaid to me. "Go now to the "princeſs's apartment, and when ſhe has finiſhed her play, "we will ſit down to table, and will not quit it till the lights "are out, and we are ſomewhat enlightened with cham-"paign." I regarded this threat as a pleaſantry; for I knew 'that parties, which are expreſsly intended for this purpoſe, 'ſeldom ſucceed, but commonly become more dull than joy-'ous. On entering the princeſs's apartment, however, her 'highneſs, convinced that the affair was very ſerious, prog-'noſticated with a ſmile, that I ſhould not be able to defend 'myſelf

was the ingenious and celebrated count ALGAROTTI, to whom the prince afterwards became

CHAP. II. A. D. 1738.

'myself against the prince's attack. In fact, we were ſcarcely ſeated before he began, by drinking a number of intereſting healths, which there was a neceſſity of pledging. 'This firſt ſkirmiſh being over, it was followed by an inceſſant flow of ſallies and repartees by the prince and the company; the moſt contracted countenances became expanded; the gaiety was general; and even the ladies aſſiſted in promoting our jollity.' After about two hours, Bielfeld ſays, he went out into the veſtibule: 'When I went out, 'I found myſelf ſober enough, but the air ſeized me, and 'on entering the hall, I perceived a ſort of vapour that ſeemed 'to cloud my reaſon. I had placed before me a large glaſs 'of water, which the princeſs, oppoſite to whom I had the 'honour to ſit, in a vein of miſchievous pleaſantry, had ordered to be emptied, and had filled it with Sellery wine, 'which was as clear as rock water; ſo that, having already 'loſt my taſte, I mixed my wine with wine; and thinking 'to refreſh myſelf, I became joyous, but it was a kind of 'joy that leaned towards intoxication. To finiſh my picture, 'the prince ordered me to come and ſit by him: he ſaid 'many gracious things to me, and let me ſee into futurity, 'as far as my feeble ſight was then capable of diſcovering; 'and at the ſame time made me drink, bumper after bumper, 'of his Lunelle wine. The reſt of the company, however, 'were not leſs ſenſible than I, of the effects of the Nectar, 'which there flowed in ſuch mighty ſtreams.'—'At laſt, whether by accident, or deſign, the princeſs broke a glaſs. This 'was a ſignal for our impetuous jollity, and an example that 'appeared highly worthy of imitation. In an inſtant, all 'the glaſſes flew to the ſeveral corners of the room; and all 'the chryſtals, porcelain, piers, branches, bowls, vaſes, &c. 'were broken into a thouſand pieces. In the midſt of this 'univerſal deſtruction, the prince ſtood, like the man in 'Horace,

CHAP. II. A. D. 1739.

came much attached. In a letter written to lord Hervey, and dated Sept. 30, 1739, the count ſays, 'What ſhall I ſay to you, my lord, 'of the prince-royal, the lover and the favourite of the Muſes? Several days which 'we [A] paſſed with him, in his caſtle of 'Rheinſberg, ſeemed to be but a few hours. 'He is the moſt intelligent and moſt amiable 'of men. Though I could notice only his 'private virtues, I can boldly aſſure you, my 'lord, that the world will one day admire his 'royal qualifications; and that when he ſhall 'be upon the throne, he will ſhew himſelf to 'be the greateſt of ſovereigns. There is all 'the reaſon in the world to believe, that he 'will ſeek out for great men, with as much 'eagerneſs as his father does for giants [k].'

'Horace who contemplates the cruſh of worlds, with a look 'of perfect tranquillity. To this tumult ſucceeded a freſh 'burſt of mirth; during which the prince ſlipped away, and, 'aided by his pages, retired to his apartment; and the princeſs 'immediately followed.' Bielfeld himſelf was ſo intoxicated, that he fell down the grand ſtair-caſe from the top to the bottom, and was ſo bruiſed and hurt, that he was taken up ſenſeleſs. 'After lying,' ſays he, 'about a fortnight in bed, 'where the prince had the goodneſs to come every day to 'ſee me, and contribute every thing poſſible to my cure, I 'got abroad again. The day after this adventure the court 'was at its laſt gaſp. Neither the prince, nor any of the 'courtiers, could ſtir from their beds.' Ibid. p. 91—104.

[A] When the count was introduced to the prince of Pruſſia, he was accompanied by lord Baltimore.

[k] Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei, vol. II. p. 33, 34. edit. Lond. 1769.

OF

CHAP. II. A. D. 1739.

Of the employments and converſation of the prince at RHEINSBERG, the following account is given by baron Bielfeld. 'All the employments, and all the pleaſures of the prince, are 'thoſe of a man of underſtanding. He is at 'this time actually engaged in refuting the 'dangerous political reveries of Machiavel. 'His converſation at table is charming. 'He talks much, and excellently well. His 'mind ſeems to be equal to all ſorts of ſubjects; and his imagination produces, on each 'of them, a number of new and juſt ideas. 'His genius reſembles the fire of the veſtals, 'that was never extinct. A decent and polite 'contradiction is not diſagreeable to him. He 'poſſeſſes the rare talent of diſplaying the wit 'of others, and of giving them opportunities 'to ſhine on thoſe ſubjects in which they excel. He jeſts frequently, and ſometimes rallies, but never with aſperity, and an ingenious retort does not diſpleaſe him. The 'antitheſis and the ſimile appear to be his favourite figures.'—'Nothing can be more elegant than this prince's library. It has a 'view of the lake and gardens. A collection, 'not very numerous, but well choſen, of the 'beſt books in the French language, are ranged in glaſs caſes, which are ornamented with 'carvings and gildings in excellent taſte. 'The portrait of M. de VOLTAIRE occupies an honourable place in this library. 'He is the favourite author of the prince, 'who has, in general, a high eſteem for

'the

CHAP. II. A. D. 1739.

'the good French writers, both in proſe and 'in verſe l.'

As the prince-royal had ſeveral muſical compoſers and performers with him, he had generally private concerts in the evening. Bielfeld ſays, 'The evenings are devoted to 'muſic. The prince has a concert in his ſa-'loon, where no one enters that is not invited, 'and ſuch invitation is regarded as an extraor-'dinary favour. The prince has commonly 'performed a ſonata, and a concert for the 'flute, on which he plays in the greateſt per-'fection. He fills the flute admirably well, 'has great agility of the fingers, and a vaſt 'fund of muſic. He compoſes himſelf ſona-'tas. I have had the honour to ſtand behind 'him more than once, while he was playing, 'and was charmed with his taſte, eſpecially in 'the *adagio*. He has a continual creation of 'new ideas.' This writer adds, 'The prince 'dances in a noble and graceful manner. In 'a word, he loves all rational pleaſures, ex-'cept the chaſe [m] [B].'

MUCH

[l] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. III. p. 92, 93.

[m] Ibid. p. 94, 95.

[B] It has been ſaid, that when the prince was at Cuſtrin, he frequently rode but a hunting, and generally carried a fowling-piece with him, with which he often fired at ſuch game as he occaſionally met with. On one of theſe excurſions, having, when on horſeback, dropped his glove, by ſtooping to take it up, he accidentally cauſed his piece to go off, and a bullet went through his hat, but without doing him any injury. This narrow eſcape made ſuch an impreſſion upon him,

CHAP. II. A. D. 1739.

Much of the prince's time was employed in exerciſing the troops under his command, in attendance at reviews, and in occaſional journies with his father; but when he was at Rheinſberg, he often applied himſelf to his ſtudies with great ardour, particularly to hiſtory and philoſophy. One of his letters to M. Suhm contains the following paſſage: 'I 'become every day more covetous of my time; 'I render an account of it to myſelf; and I 'loſe none of it but with great regret. My 'mind is entirely turned towards philoſophy; 'it has rendered me admirable ſervices, and I 'am greatly indebted to it. I find myſelf 'happy, abundantly more tranquil than for-'merly; my ſoul is leſs ſubject to violent agi-'tations; and I do nothing till I have tho-'roughly conſidered what courſe of action I 'ought to adopt[n].' In another letter, he ſays, 'I am retired at preſent to my dear ſo-'litude, where I ſhall give myſelf up to my 'ſtudies. WOLFIUS, as you may ſuppoſe, 'will have his place; ROLLIN alſo will have 'his hours; and the reſt ſhall be conſecrated to 'the gods of tranquillity and repoſe[o].' In 'another letter, ſpeaking of the employments of himſelf and his literary friends at Rheinſ-

him, that he ſolemnly ſwore, that he would never again carry a gun for ſuch a purpoſe: and it is added, that from this time he wholly left off the practice of hunting.

[n] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, tom. II. p. 7.

[o] Ibid. tom. I. p. 43, 44.

berg,

CHAP. II. A. D. 1739.

berg, he ſays, 'We have divided our occupations into two claſſes, of which the one comprehends thoſe that are uſeful, and the other thoſe that are agreeable. I reckon in the number of thoſe that are uſeful, the ſtudy of philoſophy, of hiſtory, and of languages: the agreeable are muſic, and the tragedies and comedies that we exhibit here. Our ſerious occupations have, however, always the privilege of preceding the others; and I dare venture to affirm to you, that we make only a reaſonable uſe of theſe pleaſures; engaging in them for no other purpoſe but to relax our minds, and to temper that moroſeneſs, and extreme philoſophic gravity, which does not eaſily ſuffer its countenance to be enlivened by the graces [p].'

THE prince remarks to M. Suhm, in one of his letters, that the days he had paſſed at Rheinſberg were the happieſt that he had ever known [q]. But his tranquillity in this agreeable retreat was ſometimes a little diſturbed by the want of money, with which his frugal father, notwithſtanding his immenſe hoards, did not furniſh him in too great abundance. In one of his letters to M. Suhm, he tells him, that he was preſſed on all ſides by his creditors [r]; and he repeatedly mentions to him his difficulties on that account. He, therefore, employed that gentleman to procure for him ſome loans

[p] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, tom. I. p. 64, 65.
[q] Ibid. p. 76. [r] Ibid. p. 119.

of

of money. Accordingly he borrowed for him considerable sums of the empress Anne Iwanowna of Russia, and from the duke of Courland, formerly count Biron, her favourite. He was at first unwilling to receive any money from the empress. He observed to M. Suhm, that it was a very different thing to be under obligations to a duke, and to be under obligations to an empress[s]. But his necessities at length obliged him to consent. Besides the sums that he borrowed of the duke of Courland, the empress seems to have agreed to furnish him with twenty-four thousand crowns *per annum*[t].

CHAP. II. A. D. 1739.

Of the dislike that Frederick William had conceived against Wolfius, who had now for some time been banished from his dominions, I have already taken some notice. But, towards the close of his life, the Prussian monarch began to entertain a more favourable opinion of this celebrated writer. In one of the prince's letters to M. Suhm, dated Oct. 14, 1739, is the following passage: 'The news of 'the day is, that the king reads the philoso-'phy of Wolfius three hours in the day; for 'which God be praised. Thus we at length 'see the triumph of reason; and I hope that 'the bigots, with their obscure cabal, will no 'more be able to oppress good sense and rea-'son. Would you have believed, two years 'ago, that this phænomenon would ever

[s] Correspondance familiere et amicale, tom. II. p. 60.

[t] Ibid. p. 105.

'have

CHAP. II. A. D. 1739.

'have happened? You ſee, therefore, that we 'muſt ſwear for nothing, and that thoſe things 'which appear to us the moſt remote, are 'ſometimes thoſe which the ſooneſt come to 'paſs. But what will the philoſopher him-'ſelf ſay? For, with all his rules of probabi-'lity, I am ſure that he never expected what 'has now happened. I can tell you alſo ſtill 'more: Wolfius has been offered a penſion 'of a thouſand crowns, with another of five 'hundred for his ſon, and a penſion is alſo 'promiſed to his wife, in caſe of her widow-'hood. Behold things new and aſtoniſhing, 'but which are, nevertheleſs, very true [u].'

DURING M. Suhm's reſidence at Peterſburgh, the prince of Pruſſia endeavoured to gain from him the moſt exact information reſpecting the ſtate of the Ruſſian empire. He made very particular inquiries concerning the alterations that had been made in Muſcovy from the time of the acceſſion of Peter the Great, relative to religion, the military art, commerce, dreſs, manners, and population. He alſo inquired what changes had been made in the police of the kingdom, what was the quantity of ſpecie, what public works had been undertaken, and what was the ſtate of literature in Ruſſia. M. Suhm in ſome degree anſwered his inquiries; but ſeems not to have been able to obtain him all the information that he wanted [x].

[u] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, p. 97, 98.

[x] Ibid. p. 12, 13, 21, 22, &c.

IN

In a letter to M. Suhm, dated from Berlin, April 13, 1740, the prince intimates to him, that the king his father was in ſo bad a ſtate of health, that the phyſicians conſidered his caſe as deſperate, and apprehended his end to be ſpeedily approaching. 'You may eaſily 'imagine,' ſays he, 'that this ſtate of things 'occaſions much buſtle here; and, in fact, 'they leave me little repoſe; but within I 'am tranquil; and, I aſſure you, that I have 'never found myſelf more a philoſopher than 'upon this occaſion. I regard with eyes of 'indifference all that awaits me: without ei-'ther hopes or fears from fortune, I am full 'of compaſſion for thoſe who ſuffer, of eſteem 'for worthy people, and of tenderneſs for my 'friends. You, who are in the number of 'the laſt, may more and more aſſure yourſelf, 'that you will find in me all that Oreſtes ever 'found in Pylades [y].'

y Correſpondance familiere et amicale, p. 112, 113.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Death of Frederick William.—Acceſſion of Frederick III. to the throne of Pruſſia.—His popularity among his ſubjects on his acceſſion.—He attends the funeral of his father.—Diſbands the regiment of tall guards.—Inſtitutes a new order of knighthood.—Declines being crowned.—Voltaire congratulates him on his acceſſion.—Viſits ſeveral parts of his dominions.—Takes a journey to Straſburgh.—Has an interview with Voltaire.—Prints his Anti-Machiavel.—Claims, and ſeizes, two diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of the biſhop of Leige.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

DURING the latter years of FREDERICK WILLIAM, he was ſo much afflicted with ill health, that it increaſed the natural violence and irritability of his temper; ſo that he is ſaid to have behaved with great turbulence even to his phyſicians [c]. But when he found that his end was certainly approaching, his beha-

[c] Dr. Johnſon ſays, that Frederick William 'ſpoke and 'acted in his illneſs with his uſual turbulence and roughneſs, 'reproaching his phyſicians in the groſſeſt terms with their 'unſkilfulneſs and impotence, and imputing to their ignorance or wickedneſs the pain which their preſcriptions failed to relieve. Theſe inſults they bore with the ſubmiſſion 'which is commonly paid to deſpotic monarchs; till at laſt 'the celebrated Hoffman was conſulted, who failing, like 'the reſt, to give eaſe to his majeſty, was like the reſt treated

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

behaviour was more calm and reſigned. Late in the evening of the 26th of May, 1740, a courier arrived at Rheinſberg, with letters acquainting the prince, that his father was ſo ill, that his diſſolution was ſpeedily apprehended. It was obſerved, that it would be expedient, that his royal highneſs ſhould be preſent when the king breathed his laſt, and that the utmoſt expedition was neceſſary; but that it was proper, that he ſhould give his viſit the appearance of being merely the effect of attention and tenderneſs towards his majeſty. The prince immediately ſet off for Potſdam, where he found his father not apparently ſo ill as he expected; but the king expreſſed himſelf highly pleaſed at his arrival. He lived till the laſt day of the month, when he expired, at three in the afternoon [D], in the arms of his ſon

'ed with injurious language. Hoffman, conſcious of his 'own merit, replied that he could not bear reproaches 'which he did not deſerve; that he had tried all the remedies 'that art could ſupply, or nature could admit; that he was, 'indeed, a profeſſor by his majeſty's bounty, but that if his 'abilities or integrity were doubted, he was willing to leave 'not only the univerſity but the kingdom; and that he could 'not be driven into any place where the name of Hoffman 'would want reſpect. The king, however unaccuſtomed 'to ſuch returns, was ſtruck with conviction of his own in-'decency, told Hoffman that he had ſpoken well, and re-'queſted him to continue his attendance.' Memoirs ut ſupra, p. 101, 102.

[D] Bielfeld informs us, that 'About one in the afternoon, 'he ſent for counſellor Ellert, his firſt phyſician, and aſked 'him,

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

ſon and ſucceſſor [q], in the fifty-ſecond year of his age. Before his death, he had ſeveral conferences with the prince-royal on the affairs of government [E], and on theſe occaſions teſtified great regard for his ſon. He left behind him a paper, addreſſed to his ſon, containing directions for his funeral [F].

THE

'him if he thought that his life and his ſufferings could con-
'tinue long, and if the agonies of his laſt moments would be
'great. The phyſician anſwered, *Your majeſty is already ar-*
'rived at that period. I feel the pulſe retire; it now beats be-
'low your elbow. The king ſaid, *Where will it retire at*
'laſt? The doctor replied, *To the heart: and in about an*
'hour it will ceaſe to beat at all. On which the king ſaid,
'with perfect reſignation, God's will be done.' Letters, vol. III. p. 127, 128.

[q] Ibid. p. 118, 128.

[E] Dr. Johnſon informs us, that the king laid ſeveral injunctions upon the prince, 'of which one was to perpetuate
'the tall regiment by continual recruits, and another to re-
'ceive his eſpouſed wife. The prince gave him a reſpect-
'ful anſwer, but wiſely avoided to diminiſh his own right or
'power by an abſolute promiſe, and the king died uncertain
'of the fate of the tall regiment.' Memoirs, p. 102. But Bielfeld ſays, 'It is affirmed, that the late king proved to his
'ſon, by an exact calculation, a ſhort time before his death,
'that his majeſty might maintain ten thouſand more men, and
'a ſuperb opera at Berlin, for the expence that his tall regi-
'ment of Potſdam had alone coſt him.' Letters, vol. III. p. 164.

[F] This paper contains ſome particulars, which are well ſuited to the ſingularity of FREDERICK WILLIAM's character. He ſays, 'My intention is, that after I am dead,
'they waſh my body, put me on a clean ſhirt, and extend
'me on a table of wood; and that after having ſhaved me,
'and made me very clean, they cover me with a cloth, and

'leave

THE death of FREDERICK WILLIAM was ſo far from being regretted, that it appears to have

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'leave me in that ſituation about four hours; at the end of 'which time they ſhall open my body, in the preſence of lieu- 'tenant-general Bodenbrock, of colonel Derſchau, of colonel 'Kinſiedel, of major Brodow, the captains Pritz and Hacken, 'the ſurgeon-major of my regiment, and my valet de cham- 'bre. That they then examine carefully what ſhall be the 'cauſe of my death.—After this they ſhall waſh me again, as 'clean as poſſible, and put me on my beſt uniform, and lay 'me in that coffin which is not adorned; after which they 'ſhall leave me there all night.

'The ſoldiers of my regiment ſhall have new clothes, hats, 'and every thing belonging to them. Captain Lang, and the 'other ſupernumerary officers and ſoldiers, as well as the ſix 'ſubalterns of the ſecond and third battalions, and all the ſu- 'pernumeraries, ſhall mount the guard that day in the city.

'The next day they ſhall aſſemble my regiment, which 'ſhall form its battalions in the following manner. The firſt 'battalion ſhall face the caſtle, its right wing extending to 'the river, where the walls begin; the ſecond battalion ſhall 'be on the left hand of it; and the third behind that. They 'ſhall be all compleat, and every grenadier ſhall have three 'cartridges. Every colour ſhall have a crape tied to it, and 'the drums ſhall be covered with black cloth; and the fifes 'and hautboys ſhall alſo have crape about them. Every offi- 'cer ſhall have a crape in his hat, another about his arm, and 'their ſcarfs ſhall be alſo covered with crape.

'The mourning coach, which ſhall be taken out of my 'ſtables at Berlin, ſhall be conducted to the foot of the great 'ſtairs; the horſes ſhall have their heads turned towards the 'river; and eight captains of my regiment ſhall put me into 'the coach: after which they ſhall go and take their poſts 'again. The ſame captains ſhall take me out of the coach, 'when the funeral pomp is arrived before the church.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

have excited an high degree of joy among his ſubjects; and the rather, on account of the great expectations that were formed of his ſucceſſor. The new king, however, at leaſt put on ſome appearance of grief; for when M. Bielfeld was firſt introduced to him, after his acceſſion, he ſeemed quite dejected, and ſaid to him, with tears in his eyes, 'You do not 'know what I have loſt in loſing my father.' Bielfeld replied, 'It is true, Sire; but I know 'very well what you have gained, in getting a 'kingdom. Your loſs is great; but your mo-

'The eight captains I have mentioned ſhall carry my body 'into the church, through the door by which I uſed to enter. 'I would have the beſt of my ſwords for ſervice laid on the 'coffin, my beſt ſcarf, with the beſt *dragonne* I have, a pair of 'ſpurs, and a gilt head-piece. There are ſome of them to 'be found in the arſenal at Berlin. After the capaains ſhall 'have ſet me down in the church, near my tomb, the haut-'boys ſhall play, and Ludowick, the maſter of my chapel, 'ſhall play on the organ; and the eight ceptains, in the 'mean time, ſhall return into their ranks. There will be 'found ſome, among my general officers, who will pay me 'the laſt duties, and put me into the vault.

'They will take care to bring from Berlin, twenty-four 'field-pieces, ſix pounders each, which ſhall make twelve 'ſucceſſive diſcharges; then the battalions ſhall begin to fire 'one after another, and the artillery ſhall re-commence its 'fire.

'The generals, all the officers of my regiment, and others 'who ſhall aſſiſt at this ceremony, ſhall have a ſupper that 'night, and the entertainment ſhall be made in the great hall. 'I deſire they may be treated well, and that the beſt caſk of 'Rheniſh wine in my cellars be broached, and that they 'drink none but good wine in general that night.' Hiſt. of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 517, 520.

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'tives for conſolation are very powerful.' The king ſmiled [z]; and, as a proof that he was not inconſolable, a few days after, before the funeral of his father, held a lodge of free-maſons [G]. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

FREDERICK III. [H] was extremely popular among his ſubjects, on his acceſſion to the throne.

[z] Letters, vol. III. p. 139, 140.

[G] Bielfeld, in a letter dated June 20, 1740, ſays, 'The 'king has publickly declared himſelf a free-maſon; and, a 'few days ſince, his majeſty held a very illuſtrious lodge. I 'made the neceſſary preparations, and acted as principal 'overſeer: the king himſelf being in the chair. The curio-'ſity of all the court was very ſtrongly excited. We re-'ceived their highneſſes Prince William, the margrave 'Charles, and the duke of Holſtein, who were all highly 'charmed with being of our order.' Vol. III. p. 145.

As it ſoon became generally known, that the king of Pruſſia was a free-maſon, ſome of the members of that fraternity afterward endeavoured, without any other pretenſions, to obtrude themſelves upon his notice, by ſignifying to him that they were members of that ſociety. But they met with no countenance from him, unleſs they were in other reſpects men of merit. Accordingly we are told, that a free-maſon having endeavoured to intrude himſelf on the king, merely by virtue of that connexion, Frederick took no notice of him. But the man enforced his application by making the king a ſign; which his majeſty anſwered, "by turning his back "upon his brother-maſon, and lifting up the hind flap of his "coat." *Notes to Bielfeld, ut ſupra*, p. 39.

[H] He is ſometimes ſtiled FREDERICK II. his father, FREDERICK WILLIAM, in that caſe, not being included in the liſt of FREDERICKS. But, by the ſame rule, he alſo might be diſtinguiſhed from the firſt king of Pruſſia, by being denominated

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

throne. When he appeared in public, the ſhouts of applauſe were inceſſant. He reſided at Charlottenbourg [1], a palace about a league diſtant from Berlin, till the interment of his father, the ceremonies of which were conducted by the famous baron Pollnitz. The concourſe of people at Charlottenbourg to ſee the new king was ſo great, and the houſes of every kind ſo much crowded, that it was not without extreme difficulty that common neceſſaries could be obtained, or the meaneſt accommodations. There was, indeed, at this period a great ſcarcity of proviſions throughout the king-

denominated CHARLES FREDERICK, by which name he was baptized; and he has alſo been ſtiled FREDERIC CHARLES. In this country, however, in almoſt all hiſtorical productions, he has generally been denominated FREDERICK III. and, therefore, I have thought it beſt in this work to retain that appellation. The fact is, that as there have been ſeveral electors of Brandenburgh, and kings of Pruſſia named Frederick, and ſome of whom had alſo other additions to their names, this has occaſioned ſomewhat of confuſion in their hiſtory. Thus Frederick, the firſt king of Pruſſia generally ſtiled Frederick I. is, in the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, repeatedly ſtiled Frederick III. he being the third elector of that name.

[1] The palace of CHARLOTTENBURG was built by Frederick I. but very much neglected by his ſucceſſor Frederick William. Bielfeld ſays, that the ſituation of this palace, 'on the bank of the Sprey, is charming; the caſtle 'large and ſtately; the gardens are very extenſive, and diſpoſed in a taſte of elegance and magnificence; and the 'town, though not encloſed, is handſomely built.' The apartments of the palace are ſplendid, and richly furniſhed, and there is a gallery of pictures, ſome of which are pieces of great merit.

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dom, occaſioned by the uncommon rigour of the preceding winter, which had nearly exhauſted all the private granaries. Frederick, therefore, on the ſecond day after his acceſſion, ordered the public ſtore-houſes to be opened, and corn to be diſtributed to the people at a moderate price [c]. He alſo ordered the magiſtrates of the ſeveral diſtricts of his dominions, to be very attentive to the relief of the poor; and directed, that if the funds eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe were not ſufficient, the deficiency ſhould be ſupplied out of the revenues of the crown [d]. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

FREDERICK WILLIAM was interred at Potſdam [K] on the 26th of June, 1740. Of the funeral

[c] Bielfeld, p. 144.

[d] Johnſon's Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 104.

[K] In former notes, as well as in the text, ſundry obſervations have been made reſpecting this prince's character, which appears to have been ſingularly curious; and I ſhall, therefore, here add ſome farther particulars concerning him. He was extremely attentive to public buſineſs. His ſon ſays, that he 'eſtabliſhed, in every province, a college of juſtice, and another of finances, both ſubordinate to the miniſters. The miniſters for foreign affairs, with thoſe of juſtice, and of the finances, made their report daily to the king, who definitively decided every thing laid before him. During the whole of his reign, there did not appear the moſt trifling ordinance that was not of his ſigning, nor the moſt trifling inſtruction that was not of his drawing up.' *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, vol. II. p. 155.

Frederick William contributed much more to enable his ſon Frederick III. to make the great figure that he afterwards did,

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

funeral proceſſion, in which the new king walked in perſon, the following particulars are related by Bielfeld. 'The proceſſion began

did, than has been generally apprehended. A ſenſible and well informed writer ſays, that 'During the reign of Frederick William, ſurnamed the *Great Elector*, the Houſe of 'Brandenburgh began to make a diſtinguiſhed figure in Europe. His ſon Frederick, the firſt king of Pruſſia, ſeemed 'to be more deſirous of ſupporting the pomp of royalty, 'than of cultivating the true means of increaſing the ſplendour of his houſe. Frederick William, his ſucceſſor, advanced with gigantic ſteps in the road his grandfather, the 'great elector, had marked out for him. He formed a military ſyſtem till then unknown in Europe. He eſtabliſhed 'that diſcipline, which every other power has been ſtriving 'to imitate, and that mechaniſm, if we may ſo call it, by 'which every part of it is ſo firmly connected. The judicious diſcernment of this prince made him ſenſible, that the 'power of the houſe of Brandenburgh would for a long time 'be precarious; and that a numerous and well diſciplined 'army could alone conſtitute its baſis and ſupport. His 'politics, therefore, were founded wholly on ſtrength, and 'his government became altogether military.' *Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia*, p. 1, 2.

Of the perſon of Frederick William, in 1739, the following deſcription is given by Bielfeld. 'If we judge by his 'portraits, he was in his youth perfectly handſome; but it 'muſt be confeſſed, that he does not now retain any traces 'of beauty. His eyes are indeed lively, but his looks are 'frightful; his complexion is compoſed of a mixture of 'high red, blue, yellow, and green; his head is large, his 'neck is quite ſunk between his ſhoulders, and his figure is 'ſhort and groſs.' Letters, vol. III. p. 67.

Another writer ſays, 'This monarch was of a middling 'height, but extraordinarily thick; he had a lively eye, 'full face, large forehead, a very handſome mouth and noſe,

'and

'gan about eleven in the forenoon. A detachment of the late king's regiment came first; CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'and well made leg, and ſpoke very much through the noſe. 'His head was very large, and he wore a wig, whoſe ſides 'were ſhort, and curled into one ſingle buckle, which in'creaſed the natural largeneſs of his face. He was in con'tinual exerciſe, to prevent the natural conſequences of his 'exceſſive fatneſs. He piqued himſelf on being a good 'phyſiognomiſt, and when he perceived any one confounded 'at his preſence, concluded he had a bad conſcience. He 'was never miſtaken with regard to foreigners, whom he 'diſtinguiſhed at the firſt ſight from Pruſſians; and when he 'ſaw one, informed himſelf exactly of every thing con'cerning him.

'The beſt way to have his approbation on theſe occaſi'ons, was to look full on him, to make few or no bows, and 'anſwer him without heſitation. He often aſked queſtions, 'as much to divert himſelf, as out of curioſity. I remem'ber one day at Potſdam, a Gaſcon, a comb maker by pro'feſſion, who had left France on account of religion, and 'came to Berlin to ſeek for work, ſtood to ſee the great gre'nadiers at Potſdam, as he paſſed through that place, per'form their exerciſe. The king, who perceived him, came 'up to him, and aſked him who he was, whence he came 'from, whither he was going, &c. to which the Gaſcon an'ſwered, calling his majeſty always *Sir*. Upon this an 'officer drew near him, and told him he was ſpeaking to the 'king. *Tell that to others*, replied the Gaſcon; *what do 'kings wear ſpatterdaſhes?* The king laughed heartily at 'the man's ſimplicity; and was much leſs ſhocked at ſuch 'an anſwer, than he would have been at the airs of a *petit-'maitre*, or a coat with ſleeves after the French faſhion.' *Hiſt. of Pruſſia, ut ſupra*, p. 521, 522.

Frederick William was rigorous, even to extreme cruelty, in his puniſhment of offenders. This appeared on ſundry occaſions. It is ſaid, that ſome years before his death he had formed the deſign of abdicating his crown, and retiring

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'first; then came all the domeſtics of that 'monarch in deep mourning; grooms, coach-men,

to the Hague. Bielfeld informs us, that in the 'treaty of 'partition, which he made with the prince of Orange, for 'the ſucceſſion of William III. of England, he expreſsly re-'ſerved the palace at the Hague, called the Old Court, and 'the pleaſure caſtle of Honſlardick. It was there that he 'propoſed to finiſh his days in retirement, and ſee his ſon 'hold the reins of government. This idea revived in his 'mind towards the cloſe of his life. The day before his 'death, he ſent for M. von Podewills, miniſter for foreign 'affairs, to Berlin; and, in effect, abdicated the crown, in 'the preſence of the prince of Anhalt, and ſeveral others. 'He moreover ordered that miniſter to notify this abdicati-'on, the ſame evening, to all the courts of Europe, and 'make the troops take the oath of fidelity. Providence, 'however, rendered this ſtep unneceſſary, by taking the ſick 'monarch a few hours after from this world, and putting the 'ſcepter into the hands of his ſon, by the more natural way, 'the right of ſucceſſion.' Letters, vol. III. p. 133, 134.

Count ALGAROTTI viſited the Pruſſian dominions in 1739, as has been already mentioned in the text; and, in a letter to lord Hervey, written at that time, he gives ſome account of Frederick William, and his tall regiment. Speaking of Potſdam, which he ſtyles 'the military noviciate of 'Pruſſia,' he ſays, 'It is the garriſon of that ſuperb regi-'ment, which, for the comelineſs and ſtature of the ſoldiers, 'may be called the flower of the human race. It is com-'poſed of, including the ſupernumeraries, four thouſand 'giants, of all religions, and all countries. Yet there is not 'among them either ſchiſm or controverſy. Means have 'been found to turn their attention ſolely to evolutions, and 'other military exerciſes, and to make all their pretenſions 'center in excelling therein. To ſee a ſingle ſoldier per-'form his exerciſe, through a multiplying glaſs, and to ſee 'this regiment perform it, is preciſely the ſame thing, for 'regularity and juſtneſs of time. Many even think, that,

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'men, footmen, hunters, valet de chambres and pages. These were followed by the deputies of CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'in the handling of their arms, they are subject to minutenesses, which, though they have a fine effect upon the parade, are very useless in a day of battle.

'The prince of Anhalt, who distinguished himself so greatly in the battle of Turin, is the institutor of this rigorous discipline. However, this regiment of giants is always under the eye of their master; it is he who is properly their commander. He even takes that title, having done us the honour to tell us, that we should dine, not at the table of a King, but at that of a Colonel. It must be allowed, that he acquits himself of the functions of one with the greatest exactness. His regiment is the principal object of his thoughts, and for it alone he gives into profusion.—Every morning, whatever the weather be, he goes to see it mount guard, and seems always to behold it for the first time. It is then that he gives audience, and admits foreigners to his presence. Accordingly it has been said of him, that the earth is the floor of his anti-chamber, and the sky its cieling. In some countries, the breed of dogs is lessened by people who deal in them. Here, to have soldiers, the breed of men is enlarged. To this end, the tallest women that can be found are sought for throughout the kingdom, to match them with the giants at Potsdam; and in the marriages of their children, the proportion of sizes is observed, as much as possible. If a girl be a hand higher than common, the king pays her portion.

'Besides his superb regiment of guards, this prince keeps upwards of seventy thousand men, who, without being so tall, are all cast in the same mould, and form the most brilliant troops that it is possible to see.' The arsenals of Settin, Magdeburgh, and Wesel, his most important places, are,

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1746.

'of the tribunals of juſtice, the chambers of 'finances, and of all the courts, as well of the 'provinces

'as well as thoſe of Berlin, in the beſt condition, and fur-'niſhed with a numerous artillery. The horſes deſtined for 'military ſervice are trained to it long beforehand, and di-'ſtributed in the ſeveral provinces, where they do not re-'main idle; and where they are kept always ready to change 'the works of Ceres for thoſe of Mars.

'Though the department of war is his principal occupa-'tion, and all that ſurrounds him is military, his cares do 'not the leſs extend to the other parts of government. His 'finances are regulated with the moſt perfect œconomy. 'People talk every where of his treaſure; a ſtagnant hu-'mour in the body politic, according to the merchant; and 'life of the ſtate, in the opinion of the troops; who ſee no-'thing comparable to a military cheſt. At Berlin, a vaſt 'apartment, adjoining to the royal treaſury, is full of tables, 'chairs, branches, candleſticks, lamps, and baluſtrades of 'ſilver. Every thing there is of that metal, as formerly in 'the palaces of the kings of Mexico.

'He has re-peopled the territories which he poſſeſſes in 'Pruſſia and Lithuania, heretofore ravaged by the plague, 'by ſending thither colonies purchaſed in the Catholic coun-'tries of Germany, where the Proteſtants have not the free 'exerciſe of their religion. He has likewiſe eſtabliſhed breeds 'of horſes, which are now in high repute. Potſdam owes 'to him almoſt the whole of its exiſtence. Among other 'things, he has built there a church for his ſoldiers, in which 'is his intended tomb, ſupported, on the right hand and on 'the left, by Mars and Bellona, who had not for a long time 'before made their appearance in any of our temples.

'He has likewiſe increaſed Berlin by more than half; and 'the new ſuburb, or rather the new city which he has added 'to it, is called, from the name of its founder, William-'ſtadt.——Agriculture is not the leaſt of his cares. In

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'provinces as the city. Next came the deputies of the grand directory, and then the 'miniſters of ſtate of all the departments; 'and theſe were followed by the great officers 'of the crown, each of whom bore, on a 'cuſhion of purple velvet laced and fringed 'with gold, one of the enſigns of royalty; 'count Schwerin, in quality of hereditary great 'chamberlain, bore the ſcepter; and in like 'manner the reſt. All the counſellors, mi'niſters, generals, and great officers, were fol'lowed each one by his domeſtics in ſtate li'veries; which altogether compoſed an im'menſe train, and afforded a ſuperb ſight. 'At laſt came the funeral chariot, drawn by 'eight horſes with long black coverings. The 'canopy was ſupported by twelve major-ge'nerals, and the four ends, with their taſſels, 'by four lieutenant-generals. Immediately 'after the chariot came mareſchal Schwerin, 'bearing the great banner, and ſupported by 'two generals. Behind this banner, at ſome 'diſtance, walked the king, ſupported by the 'old reigning prince of Anhalt Deſſau, and

'the ſame manner, as the czar ſent young gentlemen into fo'reign countries, to learn there politeneſs, or maritime af'fairs, the king of Pruſſia ſends them into the country, there 'to ſtudy plowing, and the manner of cultivating land. Ac'cordingly this art, the moſt important of all, encouraged 'and honoured by the ſovereign, makes here conſiderable 'progreſs.' Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei, vol. II. p. 23—32.

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'the duke of Holſtein Beck, both mareſchals. 'His majeſty was followed by at leaſt five 'hundred officers, generals, and others, who 'all marched in ranks, and kept their lines 'like ſoldiers. The diverſity of their uni- 'forms, and the great number of theſe officers, 'all of noble families, afforded the moſt grand 'and brilliant ſight I have ever ſeen. After 'the officers came the prince of Pruſſia, ſup- 'ported by the hereditary prince Leopold of 'Anhalt and the prince of Zerbſt. Then 'came prince Henry, the king's ſecond bro- 'ther, ſupported by prince Thierry of Anhalt, 'and the young prince of Holſtein; and then 'prince Ferdinand, the king's youngeſt bro- 'ther, ſupported by the princes Eugene and 'Maurice of Anhalt, and laſtly, the margraves 'van Schwedt, Henry, Charles, and William, 'as princes of the blood, ſupported by lieute- 'nant-generals. All the princes and noble- 'men were in the deepeſt mourning, with 'trailing cloaks, and long crapes in their hats. 'Each of them was attended by their livery 'ſervants. The other generals followed 'after, two and two, and a ſecond detach- 'ment of the late king's regiment cloſed 'the train [d].'

THE very next day after the funeral of his father, Frederick diſbanded the regiment of tall guards at Potſdam [e]; but many of the men were incorporated into other re-

[d] Letters, vol. III. 158, 159, 160.
[e] Ibid. p. 163.

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regiments [L]. He applied himſelf to the public

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

[L] Bielfeld ſays, 'The king has picked ſome of the 'fineſt men to incorporate with his regiment of Ruppin, 'which now bears the name of guards, and his majeſty has 'augmented it to three battalions. The men who were the 'talleſt, and the leaſt well made, are ſet apart to form a bat-'talion, which is to be commanded by general Einſiedel, 'and which is to remain in garriſon at Potſdam, and con-'ſtantly to preſerve the ſame uniform, arms, and exerciſe, 'as the regiment of the late king.' Twelve ſubaltern officers, 'all men of extraordinary ſtature, have been choſen to ſerve 'in the king's livery as heydukes. Theſe giants, clothed 'in caftans, a ſort of Turkiſh robe, and having on their heads 'high caps, with plumes of feathers, reſemble walking co-'loſſuſſes.' The reſt of this great regiment will be incorpo-'rated with the five regiments of infantry, each of two bat-'talions, which his majeſty is now raiſing, and which they 'ſay are deſtined for prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and 'the generals Munchow, Cammas, and Perſode.' Letters, vol. III. 163, 164.

Voltaire informs us, that after the death of Frederick William, the new king gave ſome of theſe tall ſoldiers to the queen, his wife, to ſerve in quality of heydukes. 'I remem-'ber,' ſays he, 'they accompanied the old ſtate coach, 'which preceded the marquis de Beauvau, who came to 'compliment the new king, in the month of November, 1740. 'The late king, Frederick William, who had formerly ſold 'all the magnificent furniture left by his father, never could 'find a purchaſer for that enormous ungilt coach. The 'heydukes, who walked on each ſide to ſupport it, in caſe it 'ſhould fall, ſhook hands with each other over the roof.' Memoirs, p. 18, 19.

Bielfeld, ſoon after his firſt arrival at Berlin, having viewed Frederick William's tall regiment, both at church, and on the parade, makes the following obſervations: 'Never 'did I find myſelf ſo diminutive, as in the midſt of theſe de-'vout giants. Whenever they ſtood up at their prayers, I

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

public buſineſs with great aſſiduity; and ſent three

'thought myſelf a pigmy. I was obliged to hold my head 'back when I would obſerve their phyſiognomies. The 'ſoldiers, as well as officers, attended the divine ſervice with 'great decency, and with an air of much devotion. Mine, 'I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, was a little diſtracted by the 'novelty of the ſight, and by certain reflections which I could 'not forbear making. The church appeared to me like a 'grand cabinet, where ſome curious monarch had amaſſed a 'very extraordinary collection of men of the talleſt ſtature, 'from the four quarters of the world. Under the pulpit I 'obſerved an iron grate, which cloſed the entrance of a vault, 'where the king intends to be depoſited after his deceaſe. 'I was ſurprized to ſee, at the ſide of this grate, two ſtatues 'of white marble, that had the look of two centinels, and 'which repreſented Mars and Bellona. It ſeemed ſtrange 'to me, to find two Heathen deities in a Chriſtian church. 'When we came out of the church, they carried us to the 'parade, where we found a part of the garriſon under arms. 'They went through their exerciſe with an exactneſs, which 'ſurpaſſes all that has been ſaid of them. To form an idea of 'it, it is neceſſary to ſee it; and I proteſt to you, that, ſince 'the deluge, I do not think there has been on the earth a 'troop of warriors, that made ſo marvellous an appearance, 'and of ſo extraordinary a ſtature, and that performed their 'exerciſe with ſo much dexterity.' Letters, vol. III. p. 67, 68, 69.

Dr. Johnſon, ſpeaking of Frederick William, and his tall regiment, ſays, 'To review this towering regiment was his 'daily pleaſure, and to perpetuate it ſo much his care, that 'when he met a tall woman, he immediately commanded one 'of his Titanian retinue to marry her, that they might pro-'pagate procerity, and produce heirs to the father's habili-'ments.' Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 96.

In his reviews of this tall regiment, Frederick William was frequently attended by the foreign miniſters who happened to be at his court. On one of theſe occaſions, when the ambaſſadors

three solemn embassies, to the emperor, to the king of France [M], and to the king of England [f]. Great generosity was expected from him, on

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

ambassadors from France, Spain, and England, were present, the Prussian monarch is said to have asked the French minister, whether an equal number of his countrymen would engage with these gigantic soldiers. The Frenchman replied, that it was impossible that any men of moderate size could think of such an attempt. The same question was put to the Spanish minister, who made a similar reply. Frederick William afterwards asked the English ambassador, whether he thought that an equal number of his countrymen would beat them? 'I cannot, Sir,' said the English minister, 'take upon 'me to assert, that an equal number of my countrymen 'would beat them; but this, I think, I may venture to 'affirm, that half the number would try.'

Notwithstanding the attachment of Frederick William to his tall guards, it is probable, that they were not always very well treated; for fourteen of them at once had formed a scheme to desert; but their design was prevented by being discovered before its execution. *Hist. of Prussia, ut supra*, p. 311. Twelve more of them afterwards also formed a similar scheme; but that likewise was discovered. *Ibid.* p. 397.

[f] Letters, vol. III. p. 146.

[M] By his ambassador to the court of France, he sent a present of wine to Voltaire, who has given a very ludicrous account of the circumstances with which his present was attended. 'He began his reign,' says he, 'by sending an 'ambassador extraordinary to France; one Camas, who had 'lost an arm, formerly a French refugee, and then an officer 'in the Prussian army. He said, that as there was a minister 'from the French court at Berlin, who had but one hand, 'he, that he might acquit himself of all obligation towards 'the most Christian king, had sent him an ambassador with 'only one arm. Camas, as soon as he arrived safe at his inn, 'dispatched a lad to me, whom he had created his page, to

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

on his acceſſion to the throne, by his courtiers and dependents; but theſe expectations were not much gratified. He did, however, confer ſome offices, and make ſome preſents; and he inſtituted a new order of knighthood, called THE ORDER OF MERIT; the profeſſed deſign of which was to reward the merit of perſons either in arms or arts, without diſtinction of birth, religion, or country. The king was conſtituted ſovereign, and the number of knights unlimited. The enſign was to be a croſs of eight points, enamelled blue, and edged with gold, having in the center a cypher of the letters *F. R.* and in each angle a black eagle diſplayed; on the two upper points the regal crown of Pruſſia; on the reverſe, the motto POUR LE MERITE.

FREDERICK declined the ceremony of a coronation; but this was not from humility.

'tell me that he was too much fatigued to come to my 'houſe, and therefore begged I would come to him inſtant-'ly, he having the fineſt, greateſt, and moſt magnificent pre-'ſent that ever was preſented, to make me on the part of the 'king his maſter. Run—run as faſt as you can, ſaid ma-'dame du Chatelet, he has aſſuredly ſent you the diamonds 'of the crown. Away I ran, and found my ambaſſador, 'whoſe only baggage was a ſmall keg of wine, tied behind 'his chaiſe, ſent from the cellar of the late king by the 'reigning monarch, with a royal command for me to drink. 'I emptied myſelf in proteſtations of aſtoniſhment and gra-'titude for theſe *liquid* marks of his majeſty's bounty, in-'ſtead of the *ſolid* ones I had been taught to expect, and di-'vided my keg with Camas.' *Memoirs*, p. 33, 34, 35.

Baron

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

Baron Bielfeld has explained the matter. He ſays, 'Frederick, the firſt king of Pruſſia, had 'good reaſons for *ſubmitting* to that ceremo-'ny; but his ſucceſſors receive the crown 'from the hands of Providence, and not from 'their ſubjects. They content themſelves with 'adminiſtering the oath of fidelity to the troops, 'to the nobility, and to the people [N]. Meſſ. 'Dacier, medalliſts at Geneva, have juſt ſtruck 'a very

[N] The pride of hereditary royalty thus aſſumed by a family, who were but juſt become poſſeſſed of it, is ſomewhat amuſing. Frederick William, though only the ſecond king of Pruſſia, alſo declined being crowned, "thinking," as his ſon ſays, "that this idle ceremony ſuited *elective* bet-"ter than *hereditary* princes." According to baron Pollnitz, it was a very trifling circumſtance which occaſioned the elevation of Pruſſia to the rank of a kingdom. 'Great events,' ſays he, 'commonly have their ſource in trifles. This was 'owing to nothing more than the refuſal of the prince of 'Orange, who was king of England, to give an arm-chair 'to the elector, in a conference between thoſe two princes at 'the Hague, in 1695. The elector could not bear that the 'prince of Orange, who had always been his inferior, ſhould 'carry it to him in ſuch a lofty manner, after fortune had 'raiſed him to the throne of England; and from that time he 'reſolved to be a king too.' *Memoirs*, vol. IV. p. 11.

In conſequence of this grievous refuſal of William III. of England to allow the elector of Brandenburg an arm-chair, a negociation was immediately ſet on foot to prevail on the emperor, and the other princes of Europe, to conſent that ducal Pruſſia ſhould be erected into a kingdom, and that the elector of Brandenburgh ſhould be acknowledged as king of Pruſſia. Many difficulties were ſtarted, and the elector's chief miniſter ſtrongly perſuaded him not to perſiſt in this

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'a very fine and large medal, which corres-
'ponds with this idea. It is in bronze; on
one

project. 'But the elector,' says Pollnitz, 'had the refusal of
'the arm-chair too much at heart, to hearken to any reasons
'that could be brought against his design, and sent Danck-
'elman, his minister's brother, to Vienna, to impart to the
'emperor the scheme which he had formed to erect Prussia
'into a kingdom.'

After many negociations, a variety of political intrigues, and much evasion and delay, the project at length succeeded, and the emperor consented to it on several conditions, two of which were, that "the elector should never withdraw from "the empire the provinces of his dominions thereon depend-"ing;" and that "in the emperor's presence he should re-"quire no other distinctions than those which he before enjoy-"ed." The king of England, and several other princes of Europe, concurred in this measure: but prince Eugene, foreseeing that it would not be favourable to the imperial dignity, declared, that "the emperor ought to have hanged the mi-"nister, who gave the pernicious advice of consenting to "the erection of this upstart royalty."

Frederick I. was crowned king of Prussia, at Konigsberg, on the 18th of January, 1701. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence, and all the persons concerned in it went through their parts with great exactness. One irregularity only was committed, which Pollnitz has recorded. 'The queen herself,' says he, 'was the only per-
'son that got a reprimand, and that was by her taking some
'snuff. Her throne being over-against the king's, she watch-
'ed a long time for an opportunity, and when she thought
'his majesty did not observe her, she stole out her snuff-box.
'The king happening to turn his eyes towards her the very
'same moment, she would fain have concealed it; but his
'majesty's countenance was so fixed on her, that she was
'convinced he perceived it; and indeed this prince, who
'was upon this occasion not to be trifled with, immediately
'ordered

'one ſide is ſeen the buſt of the king, with 'the uſual inſcription, *Fredericus II. Rex Bor-* '*ruſſiæ*;

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'ordered one of his gentlemen who was behind him, to go 'and aſk the queen in his name, *Whether ſhe remembered the* '*place where ſhe was, and the rank ſhe held there?*'

But though SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, the firſt queen of Pruſſia, was guilty of the high crime of taking ſnuff during the ceremony of the coronation, ſhe was, notwithſtanding, a very amiable princeſs. She was ſiſter to George I. king of England, was beautiful in her perſon, loved muſic, was much attached to literature, and a great encourager of profeſſors of the fine arts. She was well read in hiſtory, natural philoſophy, and theology, and ſpoke moſt of the European languages with eaſe.

Her grandſon, Frederick III. in his *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh*, ſays of her, that 'ſhe was a princeſs of 'ſingular merit, in whom were joined all the charms of her 'ſex, with the graces of wit, and the ſolidity of reaſon. 'In her younger days ſhe had travelled into Italy and France, 'under the care of her relations. She was deſigned for the 'crown of France, Lewis XIV. having been ſtruck with her 'beauty; but political reaſons defeated this marriage. This 'princeſs brought along with her the ſpirit of ſociability, 'true politeneſs, and the love of arts and ſciences into Pruſ-'ſia. She founded the royal academy. She invited Leib-'nitz, and ſeveral other learned men to her court; her cu-'rioſity leading her to inquire into the firſt principles of 'things. One day, as ſhe preſſed Leibnitz very hard upon 'this ſubject, this philoſopher replied to her, "Madam, "there is no poſſibility of ſatisfying you: you want to "know the why and the wherefore." Charlottenburg '(where ſhe reſided) was the rendezvous of the people of 'taſte; and the great variety of diverſions and entertain-'ments contributed to render this abode delightful, and the 'court moſt ſplendid. Sophia Charlotte had a great and no-'ble ſoul: her religion was pure, her temper ſweet, and her

'mind

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'*ruſſiæ*; and on the exergue, his majeſty's 'motto, *Pro patria & pro gloria*. The reverſe 'repreſents the city of Konigſberg, over which

'mind was improved by the reading of good books both in 'French and Italian. She died at Hanover among her own 'relations. They wanted to introduce a Calviniſt miniſter 'into her apartment; but ſhe ſaid to them, "Let me die in "peace, without diſputing." Upon this occaſion one of 'the ladies of honour, whom ſhe was very fond of, was diſ-'ſolved in tears. "Do not cry for me, ſays ſhe, for I am "going now to ſatisfy my curioſity on the principles of "things, which Leibnitz could not explain to me, on ſpace, "infinity, on being, on nothing; and I am preparing for the "king my huſband the ſhew of my funeral, where he will "have another opportunity to diſplay his magnificence."

Pollnitz ſays, that 'M. de la Bergerie, the miniſter of the 'French church, who aſſiſted her in her laſt moments, was ſo 'ſurprized at her courage and calmneſs, that he was more 'attentive to hear her than to exhort her. "I have," ſaid 'ſhe, "for twenty years ſeriouſly ſtudied my religion, and "have read the books that treated of it with too much ap-"plication to be in any doubt as to my principles. You "cannot mention any thing to me but what I have read, "and what you can ſay to me will certainly add nothing to "my opinion."

She died at Hanover, on a viſit to her mother, the electreſs of Hanover, on the firſt of February, 1705, in the 37th year of her age. Her body was conveyed to Berlin, where it was interred with great magnificence. This princeſs had formed ideas of government ſo equitable, and ſo extremely different from thoſe which prevailed in Pruſſia, that ſhe was often ſtiled by the Germans THE REPUBLICAN QUEEN. Her unamiable ſon, FREDERICK WILLIAM, of whom ſo much has been ſaid both in the text and in the notes, ſeems to have derived none of *his* ideas of government from his amiable mother.

'is

'is an eagle with extended wings, and theſe 'words, *Rex natura* [s].

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

In a few days after his acceſſion Frederick had written to M. Suhm, aſſuring him, that his change of title had made no alteration in his ſentiments, and that he earneſtly wiſhed him to quit his preſent ſituation at Peterſburgh, and to come and reſide with him. 'I can 'now,' ſays he, 'tell you in a poſitive man-'ner, that your being with me depends 'only on yourſelf, and that I only wait to 'know your reſolution, and in what ſituation 'you will chooſe to be placed. It will be a 'great conſolation, in the affliction that I am 'under on account of the death of my father, 'to find with me a friend that I love and eſteem. 'Uſe your endeavours to engage on my behalf 'M. Euler, the great algebraiſt [o]; and, 'if

[s] Letters, vol. III. p. 193.

[o] Leonard Euler was born at Baſil, on the 14th of April, 1707. His father, Paul Euler, who was a country clergyman, intended him for his own profeſſion, and himſelf initiated him in ſome branches of learning, particularly the mathematicks. He was afterwards ſent to the univerſity of Baſil, where he regularly attended the different profeſſors. As he had a prodigious memory, he performed his academical exerciſes with great rapidity; and the time which he thereby gained was dedicated to geometry, which ſoon became his favourite ſtudy. The ardour with which he applied himſelf to the mathematicks, and the progreſs that he made, excited the notice and attention of profeſſor John Bernoulli, who was at that time one of the firſt mathematicians in Europe, and of whom in a ſhort time he became the favourite pupil.

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

'if you can, bring him with you. I will 'give him a penſion of a thouſand or twelve 'hundred crowns [h].' The king alſo gave M. Snhm,

pupil. But as the occupations of Bernouilli would not admit of his giving ſo much of his time to his indefatigable pupil as Euler deſired, he appointed one day in the week for removing the difficulties, which his diſciple had met with in peruſing the works of the moſt profound mathematicians. In 1723, M. Euler took the degree of maſter of arts, and delivered on that occaſion a Latin diſcourſe, in which he drew a compariſon between the philoſophy of Newton and the Carteſian ſyſtem, which was received with great applauſe. At the deſire of his father, he afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of theology, and the oriental languages. Though theſe ſtudies were not agreeable to his prevailing taſte, his ſucceſs was conſiderable even in this line; but, with his father's permiſſion, he returned again to geometry, as his principal object.

He continued to avail himſelf of the counſels and inſtructions of M. Bernouilli, and contracted an intimate friendſhip with his two ſons, Nicholas and Daniel. They were invited to the academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh in 1725; and by their recommendation he afterwards obtained an eſtabliſhment in it. In the mean time, he addicted himſelf cloſely to the ſtudy of phyſiology, to which he made a happy application of his mathematical knowledge. But this ſtudy did not wholly engroſs his time; he applied his mind to other branches of natural ſcience; and in 1727, publiſhed a *Diſſertation on the nature and propagation of ſound.* He was ſoon after invited to Peterſburgh, and made joint-profeſſor with his countrymen, Meſſ. Hermann and Daniel Bernouilli, in the univerſity of that city. He ſpeedily enriched the academical collection with many Memoirs, which excited a noble emulation between him and Daniel Bernouilli; and this emulation they always continued, without either degenerating into a ſelfiſh

[h] Letters, vol. III. p. 114, 115.

jealouſy

M. Suhm directions about the immediate payment of the debts, that he had contracted for

jealouſy, or producing the leaſt alteration in their friendſhip. It was at this time that he carried to new degrees of perfection the integral calculus, invented the calculation of ſinuſſes, reduced analytical operations to a great ſimplicity, and thus was enabled to throw new light on various branches of mathematical ſcience.

In 1730, he was promoted to the profeſſorſhip of natural philoſophy; and in 1733, he ſucceeded his friend Daniel Bernouilli in the mathematical chair. In 1735, a problem was propoſed by the academy, which required expedition, and for the ſolution of which ſeveral eminent mathematicians had required the ſpace of ſome months. The problem was ſolved by Euler in three days, to the great aſtoniſhment of the academy; but the violent and laborious efforts that it coſt him threw him into a fever, which endangered his life, and deprived him of the uſe of his right eye.

The academy of ſciences at Paris, which, in 1738, had adjudged the prize to his *Memoir concerning the nature and properties of fire*, propoſed, for the year 1740, the important ſubject of the *ſea-tides*, a problem the ſolution of which required the moſt arduous calculations, and comprehended the theory of the ſolar ſyſtem. Euler's diſcourſe on this queſtion was judged a maſter piece of analyſis and geometry; and he ſhared the academical prize with thoſe great mathematicians Colin Maclaurin and Daniel Bernouilli.

Soon after the acceſſion of Frederick the Third to the throne of Pruſſia, he accepted of the invitation that was made to him by that monarch, and repaired to Berlin, where he enriched the *Melanges* of the Pruſſian academy with five memoirs, which make an eminent figure in that collection. Theſe were followed, with extraordinary rapidity, by many other important papers, which were publiſhed in the Memoirs of the Pruſſian academy, the firſt volume of which was printed in the year 1746.

Theſe

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

for him in Ruſſia, and of which mention has been made in the preceding chapter.

THE

Theſe labours of Euler will excite the more ſurprize, if it be conſidered, that while he was enriching the academy of Berlin with a great number of valuable and important memoirs, on the deepeſt parts of mathematical ſcience, he did not diſcontinue his philoſophical contributions to the academy of Peterſburgh, which granted him a penſion in 1742, and whoſe memoirs diſplay the aſtoniſhing fertility of Euler's genius. In 1747, he publiſhed a paper on the different diſperſion of the rays of light, as independent of their different refrangibility; which gave riſe to an important improvement of Mr. Dolland's, in the conſtruction of refracting teleſcopes. In the year 1766, he obtained, though not without great difficulty, permiſſion from the king of Pruſſia to return to Peterſburgh, where he wiſhed to paſs the remainder of his days.

Soon after his return, which was liberally rewarded by the munificence of Catherine II. he was ſeized with a violent diſorder, which terminated in the total loſs of his ſight. A cataract, formed in his left eye, which had been greatly injured by a too ardent application to ſtudy, entirely deprived him of the uſe of that organ. In this diſtreſſing ſituation, he dictated to his ſervant, who had been a taylor's apprentice, and was entirely deſtitute of mathematical knowledge, his *Elements of Algebra*. About this time he was honoured, by the academy of ſciences at Paris, with the place of one of the foreign members of that learned body; and the academical prize was afterwards adjudged to three of his memoirs concerning the *Inequalities in the motions of the Planets*. The two prize queſtions, propoſed by the ſame academy, for 1770 and 1772, were deſigned to obtain from the labours of aſtronomers a more perfect *Theory of the Moon*. M. Euler, aſſiſted by his eldeſt ſon, was a competitor for theſe prizes, and obtained them both.

Some

The letters written by Frederick to M. Suhm contained the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of regard

Some time after this, the famous Wentzel, by couching the cataract, reſtored M. Euler's ſight; but the ſatisfaction and joy that this ſucceſsful operation produced, were of ſhort duration. Some inſtances of negligence on the part of his ſurgeons, and his own impatience to uſe an organ, the cure of which was not completely finiſhed, deprived him of his ſight a ſecond time; and this relapſe was attended with extreme pain. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, he ſtill continued his labours. Neither the loſs of his ſight, nor the infirmities of advanced age, could damp the ardour of his genius. In 1773, he publiſhed, in two volumes, 4to. his *Theorie complete de la conſtruction et de la manœuvre des vaiſſeaux.* This work was immediately tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and the author received a preſent of ſix thouſand livres from the French king. Three hundred pounds had before been given him by the parliament of England, for the theorems, by the aſſiſtance of which Meyer made his Lunar tables.

On the 7th of September, 1783, M. Euler was playing with one of his grand-children at tea-time, when he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off in a few hours, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age. His works are very numerous, and he left behind him a great number of manuſcripts on mathematical and phyſical ſubjects, many of which have been ſince publiſhed in the academical memoirs of Peterſburgh. He had an extraordinary memory, and could repeat the Æneid of Virgil, from the beginning to the end, without heſitation, and indicate the firſt and the laſt line of every page of the edition he uſed. He had great vivacity and chearfulneſs of temper, and a high degree of integrity and humanity; to which were added, a ſincere and rational piety, and a firm faith in the great truths of Chriſtianity. He was twice married, and had thirteen children, four of whom only ſurvived him; but from theſe children he

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

regard and affection for him; which ſeem to have been ſincerely returned on the part of M. Suhm, though his letters were too much tinctured with flattery. He appears, indeed, almoſt to have adored the prince, and to have placed all his hopes of happineſs on his acceſſion to the throne, and on entering into his ſervice. He obtained leave to quit his ſtation at Peterſburgh, and alſo an honourable diſmiſſion from his own court, and ſet out on his journey to the court of his favourite prince. His health had for ſome time not been in a favourable ſtate, and his journey made him worſe; and, before he could reach the Pruſſian dominions, death put an end to all his flattering expectations. He died at Warſaw, from whence he wrote a very pathetic letter to the king, in which he recommended to his

he had thirty-eight grand-children, twenty-ſix of whom were alive in 1784. M. Nicholas Fuſs, who had been one of his pupils, ſays, "It was a moſt pleaſing and affecting ſpectacle to ſee the venerable old man, ſitting like a patriarch in the midſt of his numerous family, all zealous in rendering the evening of his life ſerene and agreeable, by every tender office, and mark of attention, that the warmeſt filial affection could ſuggeſt." Of his three ſons, the eldeſt, M. I. A. Euler became very eminent as a mathematician, and ſucceeded his father in the univerſity of Peterſburgh; the ſecond became phyſician to the empreſs of Ruſſia; and the third entered into the army, where he obtained conſiderable preferment, and alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his aſtronomical obſervations. Vid. *Eloge de M. Leonard Euler, par N. Fuſs*, ed. 4to. Berlin, 1784, and Monthly Review, vol. LXXIII. p. 496—503.

care

care his ſiſter and his children, and for whom Frederick made a liberal proviſion. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

Soon after his acceſſion, Frederick alſo wrote to VOLTAIRE, ROLLIN, and MAUPERTUIS; and he earneſtly requeſted the latter to come to Berlin, in order to aſſiſt in the eſtabliſhment of a new academy of ſciences in that city. He likewiſe wrote to count ALGAROTTI, who, as I have before obſerved, had been introduced to him at Rheinſberg before his acceſſion, and for whom he had conceived a great eſteem, ſoliciting him in very ſtrong terms to come to Berlin. The count accepted his invitation; and ſhortly after his arrival was appointed chamberlain to the king, and knight of the order of merit, with the title of privy-counſellor of war. Theſe honours were alſo accompanied with ſome complimentary verſes, which the king addreſſed to Algarotti on this occaſion[1]. He likewiſe wrote to WOLFIUS, ſoliciting him to come and ſettle in his dominions; and as Wolfius was now in Sweden, and under obligations to the Swediſh monarch, Frederick himſelf wrote to that prince to obtain his permiſſion. Wolfius [P] then quitted Sweden, and repaired to Halle;

[1] Life of count Algarotti, prefixed to the ſecond edition of the Engliſh tranſlation of his Letters Military and Political, p. 7, 8.

[P] CHRISTIAN WOLFIUS, or WOLFF, was the ſon of a tradeſman of Breſlaw, the capital of Sileſia, where he was born on the 24th of January, in the year 1679. He gave very early indications of an extraordinary capacity; and of

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

THE acceſſion of Frederick was celebrated by Voltaire, in an elegant poetical epiſtle, which he

corn; and the following year his "*Metaphyſics*, or rational "thoughts on God, the world, the ſoul of man, &c."

In 1721, he publiſhed his Civil Philoſophy, or Politicks; and the ſame year he pronounced, in the univerſity, a Latin diſcourſe on the morality of the Chineſe, and their great philoſopher Confucius. After beſtowing many encomiums on the Chineſe moral philoſophy, he endeavoured to ſhew how ſimilar its principles were to doctrines that he had himſelf advanced. This diſcourſe gave ſo much offence to the theological faculty at Halle, that a great clamour was raiſed againſt him, his other works were formally examined, and a charge was exhibited againſt him at Berlin, of maintaining dangerous and heretical opinions. One article of accuſation was, that he had aſſerted, that God, by one eternal and wiſe decree, had pre-ordained, and pre-determined all things. Dr. Lange wrote againſt him, and charged him with teaching a blind fatality. Frederick William himſelf was at length ſo incenſed againſt him, that on the 8th of November, 1723, an order was ſent to the univerſity to ſtrip Wolfius of all his honours and employments, and to command him, in forty-eight hours, to quit the king of Pruſſia's dominions, under pain of being hanged. He left Halle in about twelve hours after the orders for his expulſion arrived, taking leave but of very few of his friends, and leaving behind him his wife, big with child, and an only ſon, about a year old. He retired to Merſeberg, in the territory of Saxony; and from thence removed to Caſſel; after which he obtained the profeſſorſhip of mathematics and philoſophy, in the univerſity of Marpurg, with the title of counſellor to the landgrave of Heſſe, to which a conſiderable penſion was annexed. Here he re-aſſumed his labours with redoubled ardour, and here he publiſhed many of his pieces.

His

he addreſſed to him; and in which he obſerved, that philoſophy had nothing now to fear, becauſe

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

His lectures at Marpurg were attended by a great reſort of ſtudents from all parts of Germany, from Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. He was ſtrongly invited to accept of an eſtabliſhment in Ruſſia; and, though he declined it, he was declared an honorary profeſſor of the academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, with a yearly appointment of three hundred dollars, which he enjoyed during life. In the mean time Frederick William, whoſe prejudices againſt him were removed, preſſed him to return again into the Pruſſian dominions; but this he declined, till the acceſſion of Frederick III. when he was reinſtated at the univerſity of Halle, with additional honours. In 1745, the elector of Bavaria, then adminiſtrator of the empire, raiſed Wolfius to the dignity of a baron. He died at Halle, of the gout in his ſtomach, on the 9th of April, 1754, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, after having compoſed in Latin and German more than ſixty diſtinct pieces. Wolfius was married, in 1716, to a young lady of Halle, by whom he had two ſons, one of whom ſurvived him, and became baron Wolfius.

Wolfius poſſeſſed conſiderable talents, and was the author of many elaborate works; but his abilities, and the merit of his productions, appear to have been much over-rated by ſome of the German writers. By others, his writings have been accuſed of verboſeneſs, and he has been cenſured for his bad Latin; and it has been ſaid of him by one writer, that he has "overwhelmed the ſyſtem of Leibnitz by a load "of volumes, and by a deluge of words, arguments, corol-"laries, and citations." It appears, that Wolfius thought very highly of his own works, and expreſſed that opinion ſomewhat freely. He frequently refers to his own pieces; in the preface to the third edition of his Logic, he ſays, "I "have always reckoned, that what this little book contains,

CHAP. VIII. A.D. 1740.

because that Socrates was upon the throne, and truth reigned. Already, he said, from the virtues of Frederick, the neighbouring princes were all his allies; while his subjects were his children, and every honest man his brother. Frederick, he added, was a hero in every thing, because that in every thing was just; and because he was sensible, that he would deserve the title of hero, in the eyes of wise men, more by his acts of beneficence, than by his warlike exploits. As on the present occasion Voltaire appeared in the character of a poet, he indulged himself a little in the poetical licence of dealing in fiction.

ABOUT this time the king of Prussia visited several parts of his dominions, and received the homage of his subjects. He then had a desire to view the frontiers and troops of France; and accordingly went *incognito* to Strasburgh, accompanied by his brother, the prince-royal, and by count Algarotti. He assumed the title of the count du Four, a nobleman of Bohemia, and his brother had also his travelling title; but Algarotti went by his real name [k]. They travelled in two coaches, and had but few attendants; but among these was Frederstorf, the king's first valet de chambre. When they came to Kehl, the landlord in-

" is among the best things I knew;" and in that treatise he also says, that " by his Experimental Essays in Philosophy, " he had paved the way to a solid knowledge of nature and " art."

[k] Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 36.

formed

formed Frederſtorf, that count Four would have occaſion for a paſſport, after he had croſſed the bridge over the Rhine. Frederſtorf drew one up, and the king ſigned it, and ſealed it with the Pruſſian arms, which he had upon his ſeal. The landlord, whoſe curioſity had led him to watch his gueſts, ſaw what was done from an adjoining cloſet; and when Frederſtorf came out of the room in which the king was, he ſaid to him, "Count Four is "the king of Pruſſia, Sir; I ſaw him ſign his "name." Frederſtorf acknowledged to the landlord that he was right in his conjecture, and bribed him to keep the ſecret [1]. CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

When they came to Straſburgh, the king and his brother put up at different inns, that they might be leſs liable to ſuſpicion; and they provided themſelves with French dreſſes. Towards evening the king went to the coffee-houſe, where he ſoon became acquainted with ſeveral officers, who appeared to be agreeable men, and whom he invited to ſup with him at his inn. They readily accepted his invitation; ſaying to each other, "Come, let us go "and ſee what this Bohemian count is made "of." Frederick could at all times, when he pleaſed, render himſelf a very agreeable companion; and his new acquaintances remarked, that he had a great deal of wit for a German, and that he ſpoke very good French. As he had given them an excellent ſupper, the officers had ſo much regard for their new

[1] Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 229, 230.

CHAP. III. A.D. 1740.

friend, that they went again the next morning to drink chocolate with him; and one of them invited the king to ſup with him in the evening, but this he found means to decline. After dinner he went on the parade, and there he is ſaid to have been known by a ſoldier of the garriſon, who had formerly ſerved in the Pruſſian army, and who communicated the intelligence of the king's arrival to the governor of Straſburgh. Frederick viſited the governor under his aſſumed title; but the governor gave him to underſtand that he knew him, at which the king was diſguſted. He afterwards went to the French comedy, and then returned to ſup at his inn. On the morning of the third day after his arrival, it was rumoured throughout the town, that the king of Pruſſia was at Straſburgh. A taylor, who had been employed to make him a ſuit of cloaths, refuſed to take any thing in payment; telling Frederſtorf, that he was ſatisfied with having had the honour to work for ſo great a monarch. A handſome preſent was, however, given him; and he was enjoined ſilence. The ſame day the king ſaw the citadel, and all the curioſities of Straſburgh: but in the evening bonfires were lighted in different parts of the city, and the people cried out in ſeveral places, "Long "live the king of Pruſſia." The theatre was alſo crowded with ſpectators, who hoped that the king would have appeared again at the comedy; but they were diſappointed [1].

[1] Bielfeld vol. III. p. 232.

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

THE original deſign of Frederick was, to have proceeded from Straſburg to Paris; but finding himſelf thus diſcovered, he changed his intentions, and ſet off early the next morning for Weſel. He wrote a letter to Voltaire, partly in proſe, and partly in verſe, containing a facetious account of his journey to Straſburgh; and in which he took ſome notice of the knavery of inn-keepers, and the great expences of his journey. Voltaire afterwards remarked, that it appeared from this letter, that Frederick's philoſophy "did not look "with total indifference on the metal, of "which his father had made ſuch ample pro-"viſion [m].

VOLTAIRE was at this time at Bruſſels; and the king of Pruſſia appointed him to have an interview with him at the Chateau de Meuſe, two leagues from Cleves. Thither Voltaire accordingly repaired; but found his majeſty, who had been ſeized with an ague, ill in bed. "I made my bow," ſays he, "and began "my acquaintance by feeling his pulſe, as if "I had been his firſt phyſician [n]." Frederick had ſent to him the manuſcript, that he might cauſe it to be printed, of his refutation of the principles of Machiavel. In alluſion to this, Voltaire ſaid to him, at their firſt interview, "Sire, had I been Machiavel, and been per-"mitted to have acceſs to a young king, my "firſt advice to him would have been, to an-"ſwer my works [o]."

[m] Memoirs, p. 40. [n] Ibid. p. 42.

[o] Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade, 8vo Lond. 1777. p. 30.

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

IT ſoon, indeed, appeared, that the principles of the king of Pruſſia were not totally inconſiſtent with thoſe of Machiavel. At the very time that Voltaire had his firſt interview with him, Frederick was engaged in an enterprize againſt the prince-biſhop of Liege, which he conducted in ſuch a manner, as proved him to be more influenced by maxims of policy than by thoſe of juſtice. He was at this time attended at the Chateau de Meuſe by Monſ. Rambonet, miniſter of ſtate, and privy counſellor, and by the Dutch ambaſſador; and alſo by Maupertius and Algarotti [q]. After Voltaire,

[q] Count FRANCIS ALGAROTTI was born at Venice in the year 1712, and deſcended from an opulent and antient patrician family. From his earlieſt youth he diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to literature; and being a younger brother, and poſſeſſed though of a ſmall, yet independent fortune, he had the means of indulging his inclination. With this view his father ſent him to Rome; where, in the Nazarene college, he laid the foundation of his ſtudies, and completed them afterwards at Venice and Bologna. He had made a great progreſs in the Latin and Greek languages, after which he endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the Engliſh and the French, and then applied himſelf to mathematics and natural philoſophy. Having a taſte for painting, he alſo thought ſome knowledge of the conſtruction of the human body requiſite; and, therefore, employed a part of his time in anatomical inquiries. He attended the anatomical diſſections of Caldoni, and drew up a treatiſe of anatomy for his own uſe, in order to render his knowledge of that ſcience the more accurate. He then proceeded to the ſtudy of hiſtory, mythology, criticiſm, and the belles lettres. Having completed his ſtudies, he travelled over the different parts of

Voltaire had been introduced to him, when his ague fit was over, Frederick roſe, and ſupped

of Italy, and then paſſed through Switzerland, Germany, France, England, and Ruſſia, viſiting the principal courts of Europe. His rank, learning, agreeable temper, and accompliſhed manners, every where procured him a favourable reception; and he contracted many friendſhips in the different countries through which he paſſed.

His *Congreſs of Cythera*, which is a kind of elegant ſatire on the peculiar modes, ſentiments, and habits of the Engliſh, French and Italians, in affairs of love and gallantry, was publiſhed in Italian about the year 1744. It was well received, and paſſed through ſeveral editions. Voltaire, in one of his letters to the count, expreſſes himſelf thus concerning this piece; "I have read, and re-read, and ſhall read again, your "*Congreſs*; which the graces themſelves have dictated, and "which you have written with a feather drawn from the "wings of love." He alſo publiſhed dialogues on the Newtonian Doctrine of Light and Colours, which was tranſlated into many languages; and an Eſſay on Rhime, and on the neceſſity of writing in our native language.

In the courſe of his travels, count Algarotti took a ſingular pleaſure in collecting whatever rarities he could meet with, in the different places through which he paſſed; among which may be reckoned the priſms uſed by Sir Iſaac Newton in his experiments. That great man's niece made him a preſent of them; and they are ſtill preſerved, as a moſt valuable relick, in the Algarotti family. Much of the count's life was ſpent in travelling; but after the acceſſion of Frederick III. to the throne of Pruſſia, he reſided ſome years chiefly at that court. In his youth he had enjoyed a tolerable ſtate of health; but too cloſe an application to his ſtudies, the fatigues of travel, and change of climate, by degrees undermined a conſtitution that was naturally delicate. Towards the cloſe of his life he

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

ped with Voltaire, Maupertuis, Algarotti, and the Dutch ambaſſador. "At ſupper," ſays Voltaire, "we treated moſt profoundly on the "immortality

he became extremely ſubject to nervous diſorders, and hypochondriacal complaints; which obliged him to leave Germany and to ſeek for an alleviation of his infirmities in the milder air of his native country. This, however, did not prevent him from falling gradually into a conſumption, which carried him off, in 1764, at Piſa, when he had juſt completed his fifty-ſecond year. He had borne the encroachments of this tedious diſorder with the moſt philoſophical reſolution; and on the very day of his death, he had paſſed the morning in a converſation on painting and architecture; in the afternoon, he had part of a new edition of his works, then printing, read over to him; and in the evening he was entertained by a concert of vocal and inſtrumental muſic in his apartment. He may, therefore, it has been remarked, truly be ſaid to have died in the arms of the muſes. He bequeathed, by his will, a capital painting to the king of Pruſſia, two paintings, and a ring of great value to Mr. Pitt, for whom he had a high reſpect, with other legacies to many of his friends. A very ſuperb monument was erected to his memory, in the cathedral of Piſa, at the expence of the king of Pruſſia; and which is ornamented with a fine emblematical painting by Bianconi. On the painting is the following inſcription; *Algarotto, Ovidii æmulo, Neutoni diſcipulo, Fredericus Magnus:* and on the ſtone, *Algarottus, non omnis*; which the count had particularly deſired to be engraved upon his tomb.

Count Algarotti was a man of very amiable diſpoſitions and manners, of many accompliſhments, and an ingenious, elegant, and pleaſing writer. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, he alſo wrote letters to lord Hervey and the marquis Scipio Maffei, containing an account of the ſtate of the trade, marine, revenues, and forces of the Ruſſian empire, of which an Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed, in two ſmall volumes, in 1769. An Engliſh tranſlation was alſo publiſhed.

"immortality of the ſoul, natural liberty, and "the *Androgynes* of Plato.—While we were "thus philoſophizing upon freedom, the privy "councellor, Rambonet, was mounted upon a "poſt-horſe, and riding all night towards Liege, "at the gates of which he arrived the next CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

ed of ſome ingenious letters of his, in one volume, 8vo. in 1782, under the title of "Letters military and political." The originals of theſe, as of all his other works, are in Italian. His Eſſay on the Opera, written with a view to reform it, was dedicated to Mr. Pitt. His Eſſay on Painting, which was publiſhed in 1763, was dedicated to the Engliſh ſociety for promoting arts, manufactures, and commerce, of which he was a member, as he was alſo of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. The ſame year he publiſhed, at Leghorn, his Eſſay on the French academy for painting at Rome, with a dedication to Mr. Thomas Hollis, containing ſome very high encomiums on the Engliſh nation. The count had a great friendſhip for Mr. Hollis, and much eſteem for him, on account of his ardent attachment to liberty, literature, and the arts. Count Algarotti alſo wrote the Life of Pallavicini, Thoughts on various ſubjects philological and philoſophical, ſeventeen epiſtles in verſe, after the manner of Horace, ſome Anacreontic odes and ſonnets, and other pieces. A compleat edition of his works was printed at Leghorn, in eight volumes, 12mo.

Of all the different capitals that count Algarotti viſited, there was none he had ſo ſtrong an attachment to as London. Here he reſided for a conſiderable time, and made himſelf well acquainted with the Engliſh manners, and form of government. It has been ſaid of him, that he was a ſtrenuous admirer of Engliſh liberty; and that though an Italian by birth and by education a Catholic, yet he was an Engliſhman in his ſoul, and a Whig in principle. Vid. the Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of his "Letters military and political."

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

"day, where he proclaimed, with ſound of "trumpet, the name of the king his maſter, "while two thouſand ſoldiers from Weſel "were laying the city of Liege under contri- "bution [R]."

THIS

[R] Voltaire, very little to his own honour, informs us, that he drew up a manifeſto himſelf for Frederick on this occaſion. 'The pretext,' ſays he, 'for this fine expedition 'was certain rights, which his majeſty pretended to have over 'a part of the ſuburbs. It was to me he committed the taſk 'of drawing up the manifeſto, which I performed as well as 'the nature of the caſe would let me; never ſuſpecting that 'a king, with whom I ſupped, and who called me his friend, 'could poſſibly be in the wrong. The affair was ſoon brought 'to a concluſion, by the payment of a million of livres, which 'he exacted in good hard ducats, and which ſerved to defray 'the expences of his tour to Straſburg, concerning which 'he complained ſo loudly in his poetic proſe epiſtle." *Memoirs*, p. 44.

Voltaire alſo ſays, that he perſuaded the king not to publiſh his *Anti-Machiavel* at the preſent criſis. 'I repreſented 'to him,' ſays he, 'that perhaps it was not altogether pru- 'dent to print his book, juſt at the time that the world might 'reproach him with having violated the principles he taught 'and he permitted me to ſtop the impreſſion. I accordingly 'took a journey into Holland, purpoſely to do him this trif- 'ling ſervice; the bookſeller demanded ſo much money, that 'his majeſty, who was not, in the bottom of his heart, vexed 'to ſee himſelf in print, was better pleaſed to be ſo for no- 'thing, than to pay for not being ſo.'—'I could not avoid 'feeling ſome remorſe, at being concerned in printing this 'Anti-Machiavelian book, at the very moment that the king 'of Pruſſia, who had a hundred millions in his coffers, was 'robbing the poor people at Liege of another, by the hands 'of the privy counſellor Rambonet.' *Ibid.* p. 47, 48.

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CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

This attack againſt the city of Liege, was founded upon a claim which the king of Pruſſia had ſet up, of two diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of the biſhop of Liege, called Herſtal and Hermal. One of theſe diſtricts includes the ſuburbs of the city of Liege itſelf. Frederick ſent a commiſſary to demand the homage of the inhabitants; but they refuſed him admiſſion, and would not take the oath of fidelity, declaring, that they acknowledged no ſovereign but the biſhop. Bielfeld ſays alſo, that the biſhop arreſted colonel Kreytzen, whom the king had ſent to him as his envoy. However that be, it appears, that Frederick ſent a letter to the biſhop, in which he complained of the violation of his right, and the contempt of his authority, charged the prelate with countenancing the late act of diſobedience, and demanded a categorical anſwer in two days. In three days an anſwer was returned, in which the biſhop obſerved, that his right of ſovereignty in the two lordſhips was founded upon a grant of the emperor Charles V. which had been guarantied by France and Spain. He alſo alledged, that his predeceſſors had enjoyed this grant above a century; that he had ſupported his rights without the leaſt deſign of prejudicing thoſe of Pruſſia; but, in order to terminate all diſputes, declar-

The king of Pruſſia's book was printed under the following title: "L' Anti-Machiavel; ou Examen du Prince de "Machiavel, avec des notes hiſtoriques et politiques." It was re-printed at London, in one volume, 8vo. in 1741.

ed,

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

ed, that the ſtates of Liege having former agreed to purchaſe his Pruſſian majeſty's clai upon Herſtal for one hundred thouſand crown and to pay four per cent. intereſt till the prin cipal was diſcharged, he was ready to perfor that agreement under a proper guaranty But Frederick was not ſatisfied with this pro poſition, nor with the contribution which h had levied on the inhabitants of Liege. H would not ſuffer his claim to be ſubjected t any altercations; but having publiſhed a ma nifeſto, in which he charged the biſhop with violence and injuſtice, and remarked, that the feudal laws allowed every man, whoſe poſſeſ ſion was with-held from him, to enter it with an armed force, he immediately diſpatched a body of troops into the conteſted diſtricts, "where they lived without controul, exer "ciſing every kind of military tyranny [s], "till the cries of the inhabitants forced the biſhop

q Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Pruſſia, 8vo. Lond. 1758. p. 26.

[s] One account ſays, that on the 13th of Auguſt, 1740, "two thouſand Pruſſian grenadiers and dragoons entered the "barony of Herſtal, where they live at diſcretion." *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. X. p. 472. In another account (*London Mag.* for the year 1740, p. 459.) it is ſaid, that his Pruſſian majeſty cauſed his manifeſto againſt the biſhop to be publiſhed at Weſel on the 10th of Auguſt; "which mani- "feſto was on the 13th followed by two thouſand Pruſſian "grenadiers and dragoons, who entered the barony of Herſtal "at Maſeyck, where they are to live at diſcretion, till the "biſhop of Liege agrees to do juſtice to his Pruſſian majeſ- "ty."

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

"biſhop to relinquiſh them to the quiet go-
"vernment of Pruſſia[r]."

As the biſhops of Liege had been in poſſeſſion of the conteſted diſtricts more than a century, and as Frederick William, the late king of Pruſſia, though maſter of a conſiderable army, had not, any more than his predeceſſors, adopted any vigorous meaſures to gain poſſeſſion of them, it is not probable, that the claim of Frederick the Third was very well founded. At all events, his conduct on this occaſion was violent and unjuſt. The inhabitants of theſe diſtricts had been guilty of no crime, but that of avowing their allegiance to the prince whom they had been accuſtomed to obey, and whom they appear to have conſidered as their lawful ſovereign. When Frederick, therefore, ſent his troops to live upon the inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts at diſcretion, he committed an act of tyranny and cruelty, which nothing in the circumſtances of the caſe could juſtify. His conduct, in the whole tranſaction, might be well adapted to give an advantageous idea of the celerity of his motions; but was ill calculated to give any favourable impreſſions of his juſtice or humanity.

"ty." That is, till he gave up the territories in conteſt. Bielfeld ſays, "His majeſty has ordered ſome companies of "grenadiers into that biſhopric, where they live at diſcreti-"on." *Letters*, vol. III. p. 233.

[r] Johnſon's Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 106.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Retrospective view of the gradual increase in power of the princes of the house of Brandenburgh.—The death of the emperor Charles VI.—Several princes of Europe endeavour to deprive his daughter, Maria Theresa, of the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, which had been guaranteed to her by the pragmatic sanction.—The king of Prussia enters Silesia at the head of a large body of troops, and lays claim to that province.—Fruitless negociation with the queen of Hungary.

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

THE power of the house of Brandenburgh had been gradually augmented, from the time of the margrave Albert, who died in 1568, to the accession of Frederick III. The duchy of Prussia had been in possession of the knights and grand master of the Teutonic order; but they held it as vassals of Poland; and the margrave Albert, having procured himself to be elected grand master of that order, found means, after he had abjured the Romish religion, by betraying the interests of the knights with whom he was connected, to get himself made duke of that part of Prussia; which he was to hold as a fief of Poland. His son Frederick Albert, afterwards received the investiture from Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland [a]. The succeeding princes of the house

[a] Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh, vol. I. p. 48, 49.

of

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

of Brandenburgh continued to hold the duchy of Pruſſia as a fief of Poland; and in 1641, Frederick William, ſurnamed the Great Elector, received in perſon the inveſtiture of Pruſſia from the hands of Ladiſlaus, king of Poland, and engaged to pay an annual tribute of 120,000 florins to that republic. But afterwards, by taking advantage of the troubles of Poland, he procured the duchy of Pruſſia to be erected into an independent ſovereignty. New territories were alſo afterwards added to it; beſides which were acquired the duchy of Cleves, the counties of Marck and Ravenſberg, the biſhoprics of Minden and Camin, and the eaſtern part of Pomerania, which was obtained by the treaty of Weſtphalia. More than half of Swediſh Pomerania was afterwards acquired by the houſe of Brandenburgh; and in 1701, Ducal Pruſſia was erected into a kingdom. And as the electors of Brandenburgh had greatly extended their dominions, ſo they had alſo augmented their power in thoſe dominions, and exerciſed a degree of arbitrary ſway which was unknown to their anceſtors [T]. They had gradually, by various uſurpations, enlarged

[T] Voltaire remarks, that Turkey itſelf is a republic, when compared to the deſpotiſm exerciſed in Pruſſia by Frederick William; and it is certain, that the power of the ſovereigns of Pruſſia was not diminiſhed in the reign of his ſon Frederick the Third.

The margraves of Brandenburgh were originally governors, appointed by the emperors of Germany, for the adminiſtration

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

enlarged their authority; and the too tame acquieſcence of the people had eſtabliſhed their uſurped power.

But

miſtration of the internal government of the country under them, and to act as generals againſt foreign enemies or invaders. But in the year 1415, the emperor conferred the electoral dignity, and the office of great chamberlain of the empire, on Frederick I. of the houſe of Hohenzollern, and at the ſame time made him a preſent of the country of Brandenburgh, which he was to hold as a fief of the empire. He received the inveſtiture from the hands of the emperor, at the diet of Conſtance, in 1417. The government of Brandenburgh under this elector was, however, far from being deſpotic. An aſſembly of the ſtates ſtill ſubſiſted, who granted ſubſidies, regulated the taxes, and fixed the number of troops, which were never raiſed but when they were thought neceſſary. The ſtates were always conſulted on the meaſures proper to be taken for the defence of the country, and on the adminiſtration of juſtice and the police. The power of the ſucceeding electors was equally limited, till the time of George William, who, in 1631, conſulted the ſtates for the laſt time, and afterwards levied taxes by his own authority, and took all the power into his own hands, and thoſe of his miniſters.

In the time of the great elector, Frederick William, the duchy of Pruſſia had alſo an aſſembly of the ſtates, one of the members of which diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing the treaty of Braunſberg.

From theſe facts it appears, that the deſpotic power lately exerciſed by the electors of Brandenburgh, and kings of Pruſſia, is an uſurpation not only upon the natural rights of their ſubjects, but alſo upon their antient and conſtitutional rights. And the caſe of Pruſſia, as well as of many other nations of Europe, ſhould convince thoſe nations who have yet ſome liberties remaining, that they cannot be too vigilant in guarding againſt the encroachments of their princes. The

Engliſh

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

BUT though the territories of the princes of the houſe of Brandenburgh, as well as their power, had been gradually, and greatly augmented, yet the extent of the dominions of Frederick III. as elector of Brandenburgh, and king of Pruſſia, was far from being adequate to his wiſhes, or ſuitable to the views of his ambition. His father had, however, left him a numerous and well diſciplined army, and immenſe ſums in his treaſury; and it ſoon appeared, that he would exert his utmoſt efforts to enlarge his territories, without being very ſcrupulous as to the means. This was in part manifeſted by his tranſaction with the biſhop of Liege, of which an account was given at the cloſe of the preceding chapter; and was rendered ſtill more apparent by ſubſequent events.

THE death of the emperor, Charles VI. the laſt male heir of the houſe of Auſtria, who died on the 29th of October, 1740, was an event that greatly intereſted all Europe, and awakened the ambition of ſome of its moſt powerful princes. By virtue of the Pragmatic ſanction, or law, by which the ſucceſſion

Engliſh have often been reproached with being too jealous upon this head. They are ſaid to be alarmed for their liberties, when their liberties are not in danger. But it is to the vigilance with which they have guarded their national freedom, that they are indebted for its preſent exiſtence. Should they ever ceaſe to watch carefully over the conduct of thoſe to whom the powers of government are entruſted, and be inattentive to the encroachments of miniſters or princes, the period will then probably not be far diſtant, when they will ceaſe to be a free people.

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria was ſecured to the female heirs of the emperor Charles VI. in caſe he ſhould die without male iſſue, that ſucceſſion devolved to the archduchefs Maria Thereſa, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, who was married to Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuſcany. This immenſe inheritance comprehended the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Sileſia, Auſtrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four Foreſt towns, Burgaw, Briſgau, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, and the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia [b].

THE pragmatic ſanction had been guaranteed by almoſt all the powers of Europe; notwithſtanding which, the emperor of Germany was no ſooner dead, than four claimants appeared for the inheritance of the Auſtrian dominions. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the ſtrength of an article in the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. made about two centuries before. Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, exhibited pretenſions to the whole Auſtrian ſucceſſion, in virtue of the right of his wife, eldeſt daughter of the emperor Joſeph, elder brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain founded his claim to all the poſſeſſions of the Auſ-

[b] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 66. edit. 1786. Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 48. edit. Lond. 1774.

trian

trian family, on his being deſcended from the CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.
conſort of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. and the king of Sardinia revived an obſolete claim to the duchy of Milan.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe different claimants, Maria Thereſa proceeded to take poſſeſſion of the territories, which had devolved to her by the death of the emperor her father, and which it had been the deſign of the pragmatic ſanction to ſecure to her. She received the homage of the ſtates of Auſtria at Vienna on the 7th of November; and the provinces of Italy and Bohemia ſwore allegiance to her by their deputies. She poſſeſſed an affability of manners, which had ſeldom been ſeen in her anceſtors, and by which ſhe gained the hearts of her ſubjects, without diminiſhing her dignity. She alſo particularly ingratiated herſelf with the Hungarians, by taking the antient oath which king Andrew II. made in the year 1222. "If I, or any of my ſucceſſors, ſhall, at any "time, infringe upon your privileges; by "virtue of this promiſe, you, and your de"ſcendants, ſhall be allowed to defend your"ſelves, and ſhall not be treated as rebels[c]." As the anceſtors of this princeſs had always been backward in entering into ſuch engagements, the readineſs with which ſhe took this oath gained her great popularity. Having

[c] Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 52.

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

thus conciliated the affections of her ſubject her next object was to procure for her huſbar a ſhare in all her crowns, under the title co-regent; and having ſucceeded in this, ſ flattered herſelf, that the conſequence th conferred upon the grand-duke, would ſo raiſe him to the imperial throne.

THE affairs of Maria Thereſa, queen Hungary, were in this ſituation, when a ne and unexpected enemy ſtarted up, who w more artful in his manœuvres, and more ale in his operations, than any other of the claſſ ants of the whole, or any part of the Auſtri inheritance. This was the king of Pruſſ whoſe great object, from the very commenc ment of his reign, appears to have been t aggrandizemen of his dominions; and w conſidered the death of the emperor as a c cumſtance favourable to his views. Wh that event happened, he had been for ſom time ill of a fever at Rheinſberg [u]; but t news of the emperor's death ſeems to ha

[u] In a letter dated Nov. 30, 1740, Bielfeld ſays, 'T king has ſtruggled, for a month paſt, with a violent obſtinate fever; which makes his humour leſs gay, and court leſs lively than uſual. Every time his majeſty h freſh attack of the fever, a mournful ſilence reigns over the palace, and a languid look dwells on every coun nance. But, on his better days, he has a concert in apartment, appears in public, dines and ſups with queen and the princeſſes his ſiſters, and ſometimes give ball.' Letters, vol. IV. p. 14, 15.

haſtene

haſtened his recovery [v]. He immediately held conſultations with his miniſters of ſtate, and with mareſchal Schwerin, and his other generals; though it appears, that he communicated his real deſigns to none of them[d]. His troops were ordered to hold themſelves in inſtant readineſs for marching; magazines were formed at Franckfort on the Oder, and at Groſſen; and large trains of artillery were prepared[e]. It ſoon after appeared, that he meant to take advantage of the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of the queen of Hungary's affairs, to revive ſome claims of his family to the duchy of Sileſia, by virtue of old treaties of confraternity, but which ſeem to have been either obſolete or annulled. He did not,

[v] At the time when the news of the emperor's death arrived, the king was in bed, in conſequence of his fever, and a ſtrong perſpiration. After ſome delay, they acquainted him with the news, and he read the diſpatches relative to it. 'His majeſty,' ſays Bielfeld, 'did not appear to be greatly moved: but what has followed, convinces me, that he poſſeſſes the art of compoſing his countenance, and that the emotion paſſed within. For he roſe ſoon after, ſent for M. von Eichel, privy counſellor and ſecretary of the cabinet, and commanded him to write to mareſchal Schwerin, and M. von Podewills, miniſter for foreign affairs, and order them to come immediately to Rheinſberg. Theſe gentlemen arrived forthwith; and they daily hold long and very ſecret conferences with his majeſty. They ſay, that ſovereigns have ſometimes authority even over their infirmities. The fever has ſhewn itſelf docile to the will of the monarch; for, after two ſlight attacks, it has entirely left him.' *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

[d] Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 50.

[e] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. IV. p. 20.

however,

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

however, at first fully avow his intentions. For in a curious manifesto which he published, assigning reasons for ordering his troops to enter into Silesia, which was dated at Berlin the 1st of December, he observed, that the empire, and the house of Austria, in consequence of the death of the emperor, and the disputes about the succession, were without a head, and exposed to dangerous troubles, of which a part had manifested themselves already, and others were ready to break out. As to himself, he said, he had always been solicitous for what tended to the good and preservation of the duchy of Silesia; and the rather, because it served as a barrier to his dominions, and that province might be invaded, to the great prejudice of his frontiers, by those who formed pretensions to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and whence the flame of war might be extended to his own territories, and expose them to evident danger. With a view, therefore, to prevent consequences so dangerous, upon the appearance of a general war, with which Europe was then threatened, and to provide for the defence of the dominions which God had given him, and for very important reasons on his part, which he should not fail to make public in due time, he had thought proper to cause his troops to enter the duchy of Silesia, in order TO COVER IT FROM BEING INVADED OR ATTACKED. And as, by so doing, he had not the least intention to prejudice her majesty the queen of Hungary,

Hungary, with whom he was reſolved to keep a firm friendſhip, as well as with the whole Auſtrian houſe; and was, indeed, then buſily employed in explaining himſelf upon the ſubject to the queen of Hungary; he aſſured the inhabitants of Sileſia, that they might be ſatisfied they would have no hoſtility to apprehend on the part of his troops; and, on the contrary, that they would be fully maintained in their rights, liberties, and privileges. His majeſty added, that as his troops entered Sileſia only to ſupport its inhabitants, preſerve their properties, and provide for the tranquillity of the duchy, he hoped that the inhabitants would adopt no meaſures, which ſhould oblige him, contrary to his inclinations, to act in a leſs pacific and friendly manner than he intended; as, in that caſe, they could impute only to themſelves, the ill conſequences which might reſult from ſuch conduct [f].

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

It was in the middle of December, that Frederick marched into Sileſia, at the head of 30,000 men [w]. It was propoſed to adorn his ſtandard with the motto, PRO DEO ET PATRIA;

[f] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 31, 32, 33, 34.

[w] He appears not to have been quite recovered from his diſorder, when he ſet out for Sileſia. Voltaire ſays, 'He departed on the 15th of December, with the quar-'tan ague, for the conqueſt of Sileſia, at the head of thir-'ty thouſand combatants, well diſciplined, and well ac-'coutred. As he mounted his horſe, he ſaid to the mar-'quis de Beauveau, miniſter from the court of France, 'I believe I am going to play your game for you: if the

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CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

TRIA; but he erased the name of God, saying, that it was improper to introduce the name of the Deity in the quarrels of men, and that he was going to war for a province, and not for religion g. He then ordered the Roman eagle, displayed *in relievo*, and fixed on the top of a gilt pole, to be carried before his regiment of guards, by way of intimation to them, that they were to be invincible h. When he entered Silesia, he is said to have made the following speech to his troops. "Gentlemen, I do not look upon you as my "subjects, but as my friends. The troops of "Brandenburgh have always signalized themselves by their courage, and given, on different occasions, the fullest evidences of "their bravery. I shall be an eye-witness to "all your exploits. You will always fight "in my presence; and I will recompense "those who shall distinguish themselves for "their zeal in my service, rather as a father "than as a sovereign i."

NOTWITHSTANDING the friendly and pacific views with which the king of Prussia

"aces turn up, we will divide." *Memoirs*, p. 52. Voltaire observes in another place, that the French minister "did not know, when he first saw the Prussian troops in mo"tion, whether they were destined against France or Aus"tria." *Age of Lewis* XV. ch. 6.

g Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 54. h Id. ibid.

i Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Prussia, 8vo. Lond. 1758. p. 35. Johnson's Memoirs, ut supra, p. 107. Gent. Mag. vol. X. p. 625.

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CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

profeſſed to have entered into Sileſia, it appears, that he very ſoon levied heavy contributions on the inhabitants, under pretence of ſubſiſting his troops, and that great damage was done by them to the country. To this, however, the Sileſians were obliged to ſubmit, as they were not prepared with any force ſufficient to oppoſe the troops of the king of Pruſſia. In the mean time, Frederick ordered his miniſters at Vienna, count Gotter, and baron Borck, to enter into a negociation with Maria Thereſa. They repreſented to that princeſs, that the king of Pruſſia was ready to guaranty all the German dominions of the houſe of Auſtria; that with a view of ſecuring their poſſeſſions to that houſe, he would conclude a treaty with Auſtria, Ruſſia, and the maritime powers; that he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours that the queen of Hungary's huſband, the grand duke of Tuſcany, ſhould be raiſed to the imperial throne; and that, in order to enable her majeſty ſucceſsfully to oppoſe her enemies, he would immediately advance to her, in ready money, two millions of florins. For all this he required, "as well on account of his right "thereto, as for a compenſation for the dan-"gers that he ſhould expoſe himſelf to, for "the ſafety and glory of the houſe of Auſ-"tria only," that Sileſia ſhould be given up to him[k]. But he afterwards directed his miniſters

[k] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 36. Johnſon's Memoirs, p. 108. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 53.

CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

niſters to hint at Vienna, that though he had demanded the entire ceſſion of the whole province, he might, perhaps, be ſatisfied with part of it, provided the queen of Hungary would make a reaſonable accommodation with him, for their mutual intereſts. It was added, that on all occaſions which might offer, wherein he could aſſiſt the queen of Hungary, and preſerve the glory of her houſe, or repair any loſs that ſhe might ſuffer in the preſent juncture, he ſhould ſhew the utmoſt readineſs to do it [1].

To theſe propoſals of the king of Pruſſia, it was anſwered on the part of the queen of Hungary, That though his Pruſſian majeſty alleged as his reaſon for entering Sileſia, the danger of the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria from other powers, it was manifeſt, that he was the firſt and only invader, and that till he entered in a hoſtile manner, all her poſſeſſions were unmoleſted. To his promiſes of aſſiſtance ſhe replied, that ſhe ſet a high value upon the king of Pruſſia's friendſhip, but that he was already obliged to aſſiſt her againſt invaders, both by the golden bull, and the pragmatic ſanction, of which he was a guarantee. If ſuch ties, ſaid ſhe, are not binding, with what ſecurity can the houſe of Auſtria rely on any other? As to an alliance with Ruſſia and the maritime powers, ſhe obſerved, that ſuch an alliance ſubſiſted between the

[1] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 36. Gent. Mag. ubi ſupra.

houſe

the houſe of Auſtria and thoſe powers, before the king of Pruſſia had entered Sileſia; and that it could never be proper to alienate her dominions, for the conſolidation of an alliance, the chief object of which was to preſerve them entire. With regard to his intereſt in the election of an emperor, ſhe expreſſed her gratitude in ſtrong terms; but as that election, ſhe ſaid, ought to be free, and made in the manner preſcribed by the golden bull, ſhe was of opinion, that nothing could tend more to thwart it, than raiſing commotions in the heart of the empire. Of the pecuniary aſſiſtance propoſed, ſhe remarked, that no prince ever made war to oblige another to take money; and that the contributions already drawn from Sileſia, under pretence of ſubſiſting his troops, added to the immenſe damage done that country by the havock made in it, exceeded the two millions offered. She was far, ſhe ſaid, from deſigning to begin her reign by diſmembering her dominions; and, therefore, could never conſent to give up the province of Sileſia, or any part of it. But ſhe was ready to renew the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the king of Pruſſia, provided he would withdraw his troops from her territories; and ſhe entreated him to adopt this meaſure, as the only method of promoting peace, by all the conſiderations that could make impreſſions upon the heart of a great prince[m].

CHAP. III. A. D. 1740.

[m] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 37, 38.

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CHAP. IV. A. D. 1740.

FREDERICK finding that he could gain nothing by negociation, continued to profecute his claim by arms. He advanced with his army farther into Silefia, releafing the people from the rents and fervices they were accuftomed to pay to the clergy. He alfo plundered the convents of their ftores of provifions; and when the heads of thofe communities complained, he told them, that "he had "never read in the fcriptures of magazines "being erected by the apoftles; whofe ex-"ample, he thought, their profeffion obliged "them to imitate [n]."

[n] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut fupra, p. 40, 41. Johnfon's Memoirs, p, 109. Gent. Mag. ubi fupra.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Progreſs of the Pruſſian army in Sileſia.—The city of Glogau taken by ſurprize.—The battle of Molwitz.—The city of Brieg ſurrenders to the Pruſſian arms.—The Britiſh and Dutch miniſters preſent a memorial to Frederick, on his invaſion of Sileſia.—He makes himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fortreſs of Neiſs.—Enters Breſlaw, and receives the homage of the nobility, clergy, and burghers.—He returns to Berlin.—State of the Auſtrian affairs.—The court of France engages in the war againſt the queen of Hungary.—The elector of Bavaria raiſed to the imperial throne.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1740.

WHEN the king of Pruſſia firſt entered Sileſia, he met with little oppoſition from the inhabitants, who expected no ſuch attack, and were wholly unprepared to defend themſelves againſt ſo powerful an invader [x]. By

[x] The ſmall number of Auſtrian troops in Sileſia, at the time when the king of Pruſſia invaded it, is the reaſon aſſigned by himſelf for commencing his operations in the winter. 'At the death,' ſays he, 'of the emperor Charles VI. in '1740, there were no more than two Auſtrian regiments in 'Sileſia. Being determined to aſſert my right to that duchy, 'I was obliged to make war during the winter, that I might 'take the advantage of circumſtances, and make the banks of 'the Neiſs the ſcene of action. If I had waited till the ſpring, 'we

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

By degrees, however, the Auſtrian troops began to aſſemble, and to withſtand the progreſs of the Pruſſian arms. The king had ſent a detachment from the main army, which was now conſiderably reinforced, under the command of major-general De la Motte, to take poſſeſſion of Jablunka, a town on the frontiers of Hungary, which had a caſtle built on a rock. The garriſon made a vigorous defence; but were at length obliged to capitulate. This place was reckoned the key of Sileſia on the ſide of Hungary; but the Pruſſians were afterwards obliged to abandon it for want of proviſions; thoſe which were ſent to them being repeatedly intercepted by the Auſtrian huſſars.

GLOGAU, a large and well fortified city on the frontiers of Poland, was alſo beſieged by the Pruſſians. And on the 7th of March, 1741, at night, prince Leopold, of Anhalt Deſſau, who commanded the blockade, which had continued for ſome time, received orders from the king to make an unexpected attack upon the place, in order to take it by ſurprize, according to a plan concerted with his majeſty. Next day the proper diſpoſitions were made; and, about eight at night, the troops began to put themſelves under arms. At ten they reached their ſeveral poſts, a mile from the town.

'we ſhould have begun the war between Groſſen and Glogau, and what we gained by one ſingle march, would certainly have coſt us three or four difficult campaigns.' *Military Inſtructions*, &c. p. 171.

With

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

With the greateſt order and ſilence, they then marched to the foot of the glacis. The troops immediately advanced to the paliſadoes, and, leaping over them, threw themſelves into the covered way; ſome ſmall detachments running every way to diſarm all the enemy whom they could meet with. The town was now alarmed; but this did not prevent the Pruſſians from deſcending into the ditch, and advancing to the foot of the rampart, which was thirty-four feet high, with a ſlope of ten feet, which was made very ſlippery by a hard froſt of two days continuance. Theſe difficulties were, however, quickly ſurmounted; and prince Leopold, with the margrave Charles, and five or ſix others, firſt got to the top of the courtine. They were ſoon followed by a battalion of four companies of grenadiers, who gained poſſeſſion of two baſtions. They then attempted to break down the gate, behind which the Auſtrian generals, Wallis and Reyſki, had now poſted themſelves with their grenadiers, who fired on the Pruſſians, and did ſome execution. But prince Leopold cauſing the fire to be returned, general Reyſki received two wounds, the grenadiers fled, and general Wallis was obliged to follow them. The gate was then laid open, and the Pruſſians paſſed through the caſtle into the town. Two other attacks were executed with the ſame vigour and diſpatch. So great was the conſternation of the Auſtrians, that one incident is related which ſeems hardly credible. Four Pruſſian

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

Pruſſian grenadiers, who had climbed the ramparts, miſſing their own company, met an Auſtrian captain with fifty-two men. They were at firſt about to retreat; but, gathering courage, they called out to the Auſtrians to lay down their arms. In the terror of darkneſs and confuſion, the fears of the Auſtrians having multiplied their enemies, the Pruſſians were unexpectedly obeyed; and three of them ſtood ſentry over the Auſtrians, while the fourth brought a reinforcement [a].

THE Pruſſians made themſelves maſters of the place about an hour after mid-night. The Auſtrian generals, Wallis and Reyſki, with the garriſon, conſiſting of 1065 men, including officers, were all made priſoners of war. Fifty braſs cannon were found in the caſtle, a large quantity of gun-powder, and the military cheſt, with thirty-two thouſand florins. The king of Pruſſia thought highly of the manner in which this enterprize was conducted. In his "Military Inſtructions for the generals "of his army," which contain remarks on his own campaigns, he ſays, "The ſurprize of "GLOGAU was a maſter-piece of the military "art, worthy the imitation of all thoſe who "would attempt any thing of the like nature [b]."

[a] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 42, 43. Johnſon's Memoirs, p. 110. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 166.

[b] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, for the Generals of his army, being his Majeſty's own Commentaries on his former Campaigns, tranſlated by an Officer, Lond. 8vo 1762. p. 103.

As

As a teſtimony of his approbation of the conduct of prince Leopold on this occaſion, he immediately appointed him general of the foot, and alſo wrote to him a letter, of which the following is a tranſlation. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

'My dear Prince Leopold,

'I am vaſtly obliged to you for the brave 'and glorious action you have juſt perform-'ed; which, as I can never forget, will not 'fail to increaſe my ſincere friendſhip for you. 'Make my compliments to margrave Charles. 'Tell all my brave officers how much I am 'pleaſed with them, and that, as I ſhall never 'forget their gallant behaviour in this inſtance, 'I ſhall convince them of my complete ſatiſ-'faction, &c. c."

About this time a plot was pretended to be diſcovered, in Sileſia, for killing, or carrying off the king of Pruſſia; and one of the Pruſſian miniſters publiſhed a memorial at Mentz, in which it was ſtated, 'That notwithſtand-'ing the moderation, which his Pruſſian ma-'jeſty had all along ſhewn towards the court 'of Vienna, yet that court had been far from 'behaving ſo to him, and had had recourſe to 'the deteſtable expedient of employing emiſ-'ſaries, ſpies, and banditti, to beſet him, and 'even attempt his life. That one of theſe 'banditti confeſſed, that he was obliged to take

c Gent. Mag. ut ſupra.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

'an oath for that purpoſe in the Aulic coun-
'cil of war, and in the preſence of the grand
'duke of Tuſcany, whom his Pruſſian majeſ-
'ty had thought incapable of ſuch unworthy
'conduct.' To this charge it was replied on the part of the court of Vienna, 'That the
'houſe of Auſtria never knew what it was to
'employ banditti. That the piety of the
'queen, and the ſentiments of the grand duke,
'were too well known for any body to be-
'lieve it of them. That the ſtory of an oath,
'taken by one of theſe banditti in the preſence
'of the grand duke, in the Aulic council of
'war, was ſo ill contrived, that it was impoſ-
'ſible for it to gain the leaſt credit; and that
'the impoſture of ſuch an avowal was too evi-
'dent, to eſcape the obſervation and cenſure
'of every one, who knows the character of the
'Aulic council[d].' It is ſomewhat the more probable, that there was no reality in the deſign alleged to have been formed againſt the king of Pruſſia's perſon, becauſe to charge his enemies falſely with evil deſigns, was perfectly conſonant to his maxims of policy. In his "Military Inſtructions for the generals of his "army," in directing them how to act in neutral countries, he ſays, "It may not be im-"proper to accuſe the enemy of the moſt "pernicious deſigns againſt the inhabitants[e]."

[d] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 44, 45. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 222.

[e] Military Inſtructions, p. 76.

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CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

The court of Vienna was now ſo much exaſperated againſt the king of Pruſſia, that orders were ſent to general Neuperg, who commanded the Auſtrian forces, to hazard a battle with him at all events. Accordingly the two armies encountered each other, on the 10th of April, 1741, in the neighbourhood of Neiſs, at a village called Molwitz. The engagement commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued four hours. The Auſtrians at firſt drove back the left wing of the Pruſſians, commanded by lieutenant-general count Schuylemberg. But the king of Pruſſia, having been informed that the Auſtrians were ſuperior to him in cavalry, had intermixed grenadiers with his horſe, by which means the Pruſſians recovered from their confuſion. The attack on the right wing of the Pruſſians was likewiſe very vigorous; but the heat of the action was on the left wing. At length, however, the firſt line of Pruſſian infantry was ſo routed by the Auſtrians, and their cavalry obtained ſo much the advantage, that the battle ſeemed to be irrecoverably loſt, and Frederick himſelf retreated to a conſiderable diſtance from the field of action; being probably apprehenſive of being made priſoner by the Auſtrians, which might have defeated all his ſchemes. But the ſecond line of Pruſſian infantry, under the command of mareſchal Schwerin, ſtood ſo

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

firm [y], that they turned the fortune of the day. At ſix in the evening the Auſtrians were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiſs, leaving the field of battle to the Pruſſians. In this action, in which the advantage gained by the Pruſſians was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of mareſchal Schwerin, the Auſtrians are ſaid to have had 3000 men killed and wounded, and the Pruſſians 600 killed, and 1500 wounded [z]. Among thoſe who were

[y] Voltaire ſays, that 'the ſecond line of infantry ſtood 'immoveable, and recovered every thing, by obſerving that 'diſcipline to which the Pruſſian ſoldiers are accuſtomed; 'their continual firing, diſcharging at leaſt five times in a 'minute, and by loading their guns with iron ramrods in an 'inſtant.' *Age of Lewis XV. chap. v.*

[z] The king of Pruſſia wrote an account of the victory obtained by his troops at Molwitz to Voltaire, who received it at Liſle, when his tragedy of Mahomet was performing there. He read the letter, which was brought to him between the acts, to the audience, who received it with a general clap. "You will ſee," ſaid Voltaire, "that this "piece of Molwitz will inſure ſucceſs to mine." *Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade*, p. 33.

The king of Pruſſia himſelf acknowledges, that he might have been much more ſucceſsful againſt the Auſtrians at Molwitz, if he had then poſſeſſed more military ſkill and experience. 'We approached mareſchal Neuperg's army,' ſays he, 'without being diſcovered by any one man living. His 'troops were then cantoned in three villages; but at that 'time I had not ſufficient experience to know how to avail 'myſelf of ſuch an opportunity. I ought immediately to 'have ordered two of my columns to ſurround the village of 'Molwitz, and then to have attacked it. I ought at the 'ſame inſtant to have detached my dragoons, with orders to 'have

were killed on the Pruſſian ſide, were the margrave Frederick and lieutenant-general Schuylemberg. Mareſchal Schwerin was alſo wounded in the action. The celebrated Maupertuis, who in part of this campaign accompanied the king, was taken priſoner by the Auſtrians.

ON the 23d of the ſame month the city of BRIEG, which is ſituated near the banks of the Oder, ſurrendered to the king of Pruſſia. It had been beſieged ſeven days; during which time the Pruſſians had fired into it 14,714 cannon balls, and thrown into it 2122 bombs; by which great part of the city was reduced to aſhes f. Frederick afterwards forced the important paſs of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thouſand huſſars; and alſo endeavoured, but without effect, to bring the Auſtrians to another action g.

ABOUT this time the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, who attended the Pruſſian camp, preſented a memorial to the king, in which it was ſtated, that his Britannick majeſty, and their high mightineſſes the ſtates-general, beheld with great regret the troubles that had ariſen

'have attacked the other two villages which contained the 'Auſtrian cavalry. The infantry which ſhould have follow-'ed, would have prevented them from mounting. If I had 'proceeded in this manner, I am convinced I ſhould have to-'tally deſtroyed the Auſtrian army.' *Military Inſtructions*, p. 113, 114.

f Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 47.

g Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 334.

between

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

between his Pruſſian majeſty and the queen of Hungary, and could not but expreſs their ſurprize at his majeſty's enterprize againſt Sileſia; and the rather, on account of a letter which he had written to them, in which he had declared his intention to ſupport the houſe of Auſtria, to preſerve peace in the empire, and to watch over its repoſe as well as its ſafety. They likewiſe expreſſed their apprehenſions, that the ſteps which his majeſty was taking, might be attended with conſequences quite oppoſite to his declarations, not only with regard to the houſe of Auſtria, and the peace of the empire, but alſo to the liberties and repoſe of Europe. And they exhorted him to withdraw his troops from Sileſia, in order to pave the way to a laſting accommodation, and to reſtore peace to the empire. Frederick returned an anſwer, in which he obſerved, that he had never been averſe to a reaſonable accommodation with the queen of Hungary; but that the advantageous propoſals which he had made to that princeſs had been rejected with diſdain. He expreſſed his gratitude to the king of Great Britain, and the ſtates-general, for their deſire to accommodate, in an amicable manner, the differences ſubſiſting between him and the queen of Hungary; but he intimated, at the ſame time, his determination not to give up his claim to Sileſia; and he hoped that his Britannick majeſty, and their high mightineſſes, would not deviate from that impartiality, which was neceſſary

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

ceſſary in the accommodation of ſuch differences, as ſubſiſted between him and the queen of Hungary [h].

IN the month of July, the king of Pruſſia was encamped near the little town of Strehle; where he was accompanied by ſeveral foreign miniſters; and, among others, by the ambaſſadors from France and Spain, the duke of Belleiſle, and the marquis of Montigo, who made a very ſplendid appearance [A]. Their avowed buſineſs in Germany was, to attend at Franckfort the election and coronation of a new emperor of Germany. In his camp at Strehle, the king of Pruſſia appeared not only eaſy and chearful, but in high ſpirits, and full of vivacity. In a letter written at this time

[h] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 47—50.

[A] Bielfeld ſays, 'Each of theſe miniſters makes a moſt 'brilliant figure, and never have I ſeen any one travel with 'more eaſe and convenience, more elegance and grandeur, 'than does the marquis of Montigo. Wherever he ſtops to 'dine, or ſup, he finds a room hung with the richeſt tapeſtry, 'and the floor covered with Turkey carpets, with velvet 'chairs, and every other kind of convenience; a table ſump-'tuouſly ſerved, the choiceſt wines, and a deſert of fruit and 'confectionary, that Paris itſelf could not excel. This kind 'of enchantment, this real miracle in Germany, is perform-'ed by means of three baggage waggons, of which two al-'ways go before the ambaſſador, and carry with them every 'thing neceſſary for his reception; and when they arrive in 'ſome poor village, the domeſtics that accompany each wag-'gon immediately cleat and clean ſome chamber, fix the ta-'peſtry by rings to the walls, cover the floor with carpets, 'and furniſh the kitchen and cellar with every kind of neceſ-'ſary.' Letters, vol. I. p. 3, 4.

by

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

by baron Bielfeld, who attended Frederick at Strehle, is the following paſſage: 'Notwithſtanding all the fatigues of war, the king is in perfect health, and more gay and pleaſant than ever; and all who approach his majeſty, meet with a moſt gracious reception. In the midſt of his camp, and at the head of ſixty thouſand Pruſſians, our monarch appears to me with a new and ſuperior air of greatneſs [i].'

In September, Frederick was encamped on the top of a hill, in ſight of Neiſs; the Auſtrian army, under general Neuperg, being chiefly encamped in the plain at no great diſtance. The Pruſſians were now, for a ſhort time, in great want of proviſions, while the Auſtrian troops were well ſupplied [B]. But this diſtreſs in the Pruſſian camp did not long continue; for general Neuperg quitted his camp, and marched towards the mountains that cover Bohemia. The Pruſſian troops immediately marched down the hill, and took poſſeſſion of the camp which had been left by

[i] Letters, vol. I. p. 7.

[B] 'They ſuffered,' ſays Bielfeld, 'in this camp, every 'kind of want; and it was no ſmall mortification to ſee from 'the hill the camp of M. Neuperg, which lay partly on the 'plain, and partly in a village, abounding with every kind of 'neceſſary. I mounted to the top of a hill, and by the help 'of a good teleſcope, could ſee, in the quarters of the Auſ'trian huſſars, the ſutlers ſelling all ſorts of proviſions, and 'every article of luxury, fiſh, choice fruit, water melons, and 'even ananas, while we were juſt dying with hunger. But 'this extremity laſted not long; for, about noon, we ſaw the 'whole army of M. Neuperg in motion.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 44.

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the Auſtrians. The Pruſſian light troops were employed in harraſſing the Auſtrians in their retreat; and, by quitting his camp, general Neuperg had given the king of Pruſſia an opportunity of inveſting the town of Neiſs, which was the ſtrongeſt fortification in Sileſia. The place was ſo vigorouſly beſieged, the town being laid waſte with bombs and cannon balls, that it did not hold out many days after the trenches were opened; but the garriſon were allowed to march out with the honours of war [c]. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

The king of Pruſſia, having completed the conqueſt of Lower Sileſia, entered Breslaw,

[c] During the continuance of this ſiege, Bielfeld, who was preſent at it, ſays, 'The king ordered two tables to be 'ſet up in a barn, on each of which were forty covers. Here 'he dined with the princes, and his officers; and here we ate 'likewiſe, or were ſometimes invited by the generals. They 'had a good table in camp, and there was no want of wine. 'In the afternoon we attended the king at his quarters, and 'towards the evening we waited on his royal highneſs the 'margrave Henry, who was well lodged. Here we were in-'vited to play, and almoſt always kept to ſupper. Mareſchal 'Schwerin, was lodged in a village a ſhort mile from the 'head-quarters.'

In the ſame letter he ſays, 'There has happened nothing 'very remarkable in the courſe of this ſiege. The only un-'fortunate accident we have had, was from a powder barrel, 'which being placed too near the batteries, took fire, and 'blew up eleven ſoldiers belonging to the artillery. The 'greateſt part of theſe unfortunate men were deſtroyed; and, 'as I paſſed that way preſently after, I ſaw their wretched 'remains, black as ſoot.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 48, 49.

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CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

the capital of the duchy [D], and a day was appointed for receiving the homage of the Silesian nobility, clergy, and burghers. The great hall of the state-house of this city was

[D] According to baron Bielfeld, the king arrived at Breslaw on the 8th of October, 1741, in the afternoon. 'He 'found an innumerable number of people before the palace 'and all the antichamber filled with Silesian nobles, prelates 'officers, and other persons of rank. The principal of them 'were presented to his majesty, who received them most 'graciously, and conversed with them for a long time. The 'king then withdrew to his chamber, where he had a concert 'and played himself on the flute. His majesty afterwards 'supped alone, and retired early to rest, sufficiently fatigued 'with the business of this remarkable day.

'The following day, as the king talked with messieurs 'Podewils, Munchow, and Reinhardt, he ordered baron 'Pollnitz to be called, and said to him, "Baron, I dreamt 'last night that I created nobles. Tell me, you that know 'Silesia, who are the most worthy to bear that title?" 'Baron Pollnitz mentioned such as by their birth, their merit, and their fortune, were the most respectable; and as 'his Majesty's choice fell on count Schoneich, messieurs Beuthen and Carolath, and count Harzfeld, the baron was 'ordered to acquaint them with his majesty's intention. 'There were made, besides these, four counts, four barons, 'and four other nobles; and six of the principal Silesian nobility were invested with the order of the Black Eagle. As 'a reward for the important services which M. Podewils, 'minister for foreign affairs, has rendered his majesty in the 'course of this war, he was also raised to the dignity of a 'count, and invested with the king's order. There were 'likewise distributed several lord chamberlain's keys, several 'letters patent for seats in the council of state, and many 'other titles and pensions.' Letters, ut supra, p. 61, 62, 63.

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made uſe of on this occaſion [E]. On the morning of the day which was ſet apart for this purpoſe, all the garriſon of Breſlaw were under arms as ſoon as it was light, and marched to different quarters of the town. In the forenoon, the ſtreets were crowded with people of all ranks; and the Sileſian clergy and nobility repaired to the ſtate-houſe in ſolemn proceſſion, and in great pomp. Cardinal Zinzendorff, biſhop of Breſlaw, was at the head of the prelates, the generals of the religious orders, and deputies of the Sileſian churches. After the equipages of the clergy came the deputies of the provinces, and the whole body of nobility. Then followed the burgo-maſters and ſenators of Breſlaw, and the deputies of other towns. The principal nobility came in coaches and ſix: their equipages were ſplendid, their liveries gay, and their cloaths richly laced. When they had entered the hall of the ſtate-houſe, they were arranged on one ſide of it, according to their rank. Mareſchal Schwerin, count Podewills, the king of Pruſſia's chief miniſter, count Mun-

[E] In this hall was a throne, which had been erected for the emperor Matthias, and which was made uſe of on the preſent occaſion. 'But unluckily,' ſays Bielfeld, 'on the 'velvet that covered this throne, was embroidered the impe-'rial two-headed eagle. This inconvenience, however, was 'preſently removed; for, by cutting off one of his heads, 'and fixing the king's cypher on his breaſt, he became as 'complete a Pruſſian eagle, as if he had never belonged to 'any other country.' *Ibid.* p. 61.

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CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

chow, baron Pollnitz [F], many general officers, and perſons of diſtinction belonging to the king's train, afterwards entered the ſame hall,

[F] CHARLES LEWIS, Baron de POLLNITZ, was born on the 25th of February, 1692, at Iſſouin, a village in the electorate of Cologn. He loſt his father before he was two years of age, and was brought up under the care of his mother, who chiefly reſided at Berlin. He afterwards ſtudied ſome time at Lunenburgh, under the care of a governor; but he was very early introduced at court, and was preſent at the coronation of the firſt king of Pruſſia. In 1708, by the king's permiſſion, he ſerved as a volunteer among the Pruſſian troops, againſt the French, in the allied army commanded by the duke of Marlborough, and was preſent at the battle of Oudenarde. The ſame year, he was made one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber. In this ſituation he continued a conſiderable time, and then quitted Berlin, in conſequence of ſome harſh words which were ſpoken to him by the king. He then went to Brunſwick, Zell, and Hanover, where he was introduced to the princeſs Sophia, mother to king George the Firſt, by whom he was extremely well received, and of whom he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: "This princeſs, though ſhe was full four-"ſcore when I was at Hanover, laboured under none of thoſe "infirmities which one would think to be inſeparable from "ſo great an age. She was really a prodigy for vivacity "and memory. She ſpoke French, Engliſh, and Italian, as "well as her mother tongue; and had, moreover, a wonder-"ful juſt way of thinking, which ſhe had taken the pains to "cultivate by great reading." At Hanover, however, Pollnitz engaged too much in gaming, by which he involved himſelf in difficulties; but he afterwards went to France, where he was introduced to the court at Verſailles, and was much diſtinguiſhed by Lewis XIV. who ſaid, "That of "all the foreigners who had been introduced to him, nobody "had ſaluted him with a better grace, and a more eaſy "air,

hall, but by another door, and placed themselves on each ſide of the throne, oppoſite to the Sileſian nobility and deputies. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

ABOUT

"air, than the margrave of Anſpach, and the baron de "Pollnitz."

At Paris Pollnitz lived in a very gay and expenſive manner, gamed much, and engaged in intrigues, and at length the conſequences of his extravagances obliged him to quit France, and he returned to Berlin. But Frederick William having now aſcended the throne of Pruſſia, there was ſo little ſplendor in that court, that Pollnitz was ſoon diſguſted with it; and having no proſpect of preferment, he again returned to Paris. He ſtaid there for ſome time, then went back again to Germany, and in vain ſolicited ſome court preferment at Berlin, after which he travelled into Poland. In 1714, he was again in France, and was preſent when Lewis XIV. gave audience to the Perſian ambaſſador. He involved himſelf in farther difficulties by his extravagancies at Paris, but at length obtained a penſion from the French court of 2000 livres, though of this he was deprived after the acceſſion of Lewis XV. About this time he embraced the Roman Catholic religion, after which he travelled into ſeveral other countries, and met with a variety of adventures, being often extremely diſtreſſed for want of money. His eſtate was much involved, and he once formed a deſign of endeavouring to retrieve his circumſtances, by entering into holy orders; though the general tenor of his life ſeems to have been very unſuitable to that profeſſion. As he viſited moſt of the courts and cities of Europe, he wrote an account of his travels in the French language, in the form of letters, which are very entertaining, and have been extremely well received. They were tranſlated into Engliſh, and the third edition was publiſhed in five volumes, 12mo. in 1745, under the title of "Memoirs of Charles Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz." He met with but little countenance at the court of Pruſſia, during the reign of Frederick William; but after the acceſ-

ſion

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

About noon, the king himſelf proceeded to the ſtate-houſe, in a phaëton, ſuch as he frequently uſed in the field, and which was drawn by eight horſes. He was in his uniform, which was ſomewhat the worſe for wear, and his hair, as uſual, was negligently dreſſed. In this martial attire Frederick ſeated himſelf on the throne. The prince of Pruſſia, and the other princes of the blood, placed themſelves

ſion of Frederick III. he was received into favour, made one of the king's chamberlains, and frequently admitted to his convivial parties.

From what Voltaire ſays of Pollnitz, it ſeems as if he had changed his religion more than once: and he repreſents the king as apt to be very ſatirical with him upon that circumſtance, and on account of his morals. 'It is well known,' ſays Voltaire, 'how much muſt be borne from kings; but 'Frederick was too free in the abuſe of his prerogative. All 'ſociety has its laws, except the ſociety of the Lion and the Lamb. Frederick continually failed in the firſt of theſe 'laws; which is, to ſay nothing diſobliging of any of the 'company. He often uſed to aſk his chamberlain Pollnitz, 'if he would not willingly change his religion a fourth time, 'and offer to pay a hundred crowns down for his converſion. "Good God, my dear Pollnitz," he would ſay, "I have "forgotten the name of that perſon at the Hague, whom "you cheated by ſelling him baſe for pure ſilver; let me beg "of you to aſſiſt my memory a little." He treated poor 'D'Argens in much the ſame way; and yet theſe two vic-'tims remained. Pollnitz, having waſted his fortune, was 'obliged to ſwallow ſerpents for bread, and had no other 'food; and D'Argens had no property in the world, but 'his Jewiſh Letters, and his wife called Cochois, a bad pro-'vincial actreſs, and ſo ugly ſhe could get no employment 'at any trade, though ſhe practiſed ſeveral.' *Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, written by himſelf*, p. 143, 144.

around

around him. Mareſchal Schwerin ſtood on his right hand, and was to have borne the ſword of ſtate, but that was forgotten. This omiſſion the king ſupplied, by drawing his own ſword, and putting into the mareſchal's hand. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

COUNT Podewills, who ſtood on the left hand of the king, then made a ſpeech, in which he acquainted the aſſembly with the motives, which had induced his majeſty to convoke that meeting; and he exhorted the Sileſians, that they would with their hearts, as well as with their lips, ſwear allegiance to their new lord, and ſovereign duke. He aſſured them, in the king's name, that his majeſty would ever regard them with the affection of a father; that he would continually afford them all poſſible aid and protection; and that he ſhould look on every day of his life as loſt, in which he did not give them ſome freſh mark of his royal munificence. M. Vockerodt then read the oath of allegiance, which the deputies, and all the nobility, repeated with a loud voice. While this was reading, the king ſat, and was covered; but when the declaration was making in his name, he ſtood, and was uncovered. When the oath was over, every one in his rank advanced to the throne, laid his hand upon the Bible, and kiſſed the hilt of the king's ſword, in token of inviolable fidelity. Count Podewills then concluded the ceremony with a ſhort complimentary ſpeech, which he made in the king's name, to the whole body of Sileſians; acquainting

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

quainting them with the great ſatisfaction which the concluſion of this important buſineſs gave to his majeſty; and again aſſuring them of his protection, and of the full enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges. This ſpeech was received with loud acclamations; "long live the king of Pruſſia, long live our ſovereign lord," reſounded from every part of the aſſembly; which Frederick anſwered with a bow; and, deſcending from the throne was attended by the whole aſſembly to his carriage [k].

AFTER the concluſion of this ceremony a ſumptuous dinner was given by the king, to which all perſons of rank were invited. When the deſert appeared, ſilver diſhes were alſo brought, filled with gold and ſilver medals, ſtruck for the occaſion; and to every perſon was preſented one gold and two ſilver medals. In the evening the King gave a grand maſquerade ball, and a magnificent ſupper. The whole city of Breſlaw was illuminated; and even the Jeſuits, Carmelites, and Capuchins, were at conſiderable expence in the illumination of their monaſteries [l]. The king ſet out for Berlin a few days after, where he was received with great joy by the inhabitants. He left count Munchow, one of his generals, to preſide over the government and revenues of Sileſia [G].

DURING

[k] Lettres, vol. I. p. 70—75. [l] Ibid. vol. I. p. 76, 77.

[G] Voltaire, ſpeaking of the king of Pruſſia's conqueſt of Sileſia, ſays, 'He has written the hiſtory of that conqueſt, and

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

DURING the time that the king of Pruſſia was employed in making himſelf maſter of Sileſia, the affairs of the queen of Hungary were in many reſpects in a ſituation extremely critical. She had been crowned at Preſburg on the 24th of June, 1741; but the elector of Bavaria refuſed to acknowledge her as queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alleging his own pretenſions to both thoſe countries, by virtue of a clauſe in the will of the emperor

'and he ſhewed me the whole of it. Here follows one of 'the curious paragraphs, in the introduction of theſe annals, 'which I, in preference, carefully tranſcribed, as a thing '*unique* in its kind, "Add to the foregoing conſiderations, "I had troops entirely prepared to act; this, the fulneſs of "my treaſury, and the vivacity of my character, were the "reaſons why I made war upon Maria Thereſa, queen of "Bohemia and Hungary." And a few lines after, he has 'theſe very words: "Ambition, intereſt, and a deſire to "make the world ſpeak of me, vanquiſhed all, and war was "determined on."

'From the time that conquerors, or fiery ſpirits that would 'be conquerors, firſt were, to the preſent hour, I believe he 'is the only one who has ever done himſelf thus much juſ-'tice. Never man, perhaps, felt reaſon more forcibly, or 'liſtened more attentively to his paſſions; but this mixture 'of a philoſophic mind, and a diſorderly imagination, have 'ever compoſed his character.

'It is much to be regretted, that I prevailed on him to 'omit theſe paſſages, when I afterwards corrected his works; 'a confeſſion ſo uncommon, ſhould have paſſed down to 'poſterity, and have ſerved to ſhew upon what motives the 'generality of wars are founded. We authors, poets, hiſto-'rians, and academician declaimers, celebrate theſe fine 'exploits; but here is a monarch who performs and condemns 'them.' Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 52—55.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

Ferdinand I. Cardinal Fleury, who was at this time prime miniſter of France, was deſirous of maintaining the pragmatic ſanction, and of preſerving the peace of Europe; but, by the influence of the count de Belleiſle, and his brother, in the French councils, it was determined to ſupport the claims of the elector of Bavaria, in order to leſſen the power of the houſe of Auſtria; and in this ſcheme the cardinal, who was in his eighty-fifth year, was at length prevailed upon to concur. It was propoſed to ſend a numerous body of French troops into Germany, who, in conjunction with the Bavarian troops, ſhould ſeize upon Auſtria, Bohemia, and the fineſt provinces of the queen of Hungary; and beſides ſupporting the claims of the elector of Bavaria to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, he was alſo, by the intrigues of France, to be raiſed to the Imperial throne. The count de Belleiſle was accordingly advanced to the rank of mareſchal, and ſent into Germany in the double capacity of ambaſſador and general. He concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg, by which the king engaged to aſſiſt that prince with his whole force, in order to raiſe him to the Imperial throne; and the elector, on his part, promiſed, that, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire, which the French ſhould have conquered; that he would, in his Imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and agree, that

France

France might retain irrevocably whatever places ſhould be reduced by her arms in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The count de Belleiſle alſo concluded a treaty between Lewis XV. and the king of Pruſſia, in which it was ſtipulated, that the elector of Bavaria, together with the Imperial crown, ſhould poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the country of Tirol; that Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, ſhould be gratified with Moravia and Upper Sileſia; and that his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould retain Lower Sileſia, with the town of Neiſs, and county of Glatz [1]. CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

When theſe treaties were concluded, the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces, entered Auſtria without oppoſition, and immediately made himſelf maſter of the Imperial city of Paſſau, which ſeparated Upper Auſtria from Bavaria. He then marched into Lintz, the capital of Upper Auſtria, and there received the homage of the ſtates of that country. From thence ſeveral detachments of his troops advanced within three leagues of Vienna, the inhabitants of which expected to be beſieged, and began to make preparations for their defence. One of the ſuburbs was almoſt totally pulled down, together with a palace that was near the fortifications; and the Danube was covered with a multitude of boats, which conveyed the moſt valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater ſafety. The elector of Bavaria pro-

[1] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 72.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

ceeded ſo far, as to ſend a ſummons of ſurrender to count Kevenhuller, who was then governor of Vienna [m].

In this diſtreſsful ſituation of her affairs, the queen of Hungary had expected ſome powerful aſſiſtance from the king of Great Britain, who had profeſſed his deſire to ſupport the houſe of Auſtria, and who had raiſed a conſiderable body of troops for that purpoſe. The parliament of England had alſo voted three hundred thouſand pounds, for the ſervice of the queen of Hungary. But a French army, having been ſent into Weſtphalia, under the command of mareſchal Maillebois, his Britannick majeſty was ſo apprehenſive for the ſafety of his electoral dominions, that he ſigned a treaty of neutrality, and even engaged to vote for the elector of Bavaria, at the enſuing election of an emperor.

The queen of Hungary now ſeemed abandoned by her allies, and devoted to deſtruction; but her courage did not forſake her. She left the care of her affairs at Vienna to her huſband and her generals, and retired to Preſburg; where, having aſſembled the ſtates of Hungary, ſhe appeared before them with her eldeſt ſon, yet an infant, in her arms, and addreſſed them in a pathetic ſpeech, in the Latin language, to the following purport; "Aban-" doned by my friends, perſecuted by my ene-" mies, and attacked by my neareſt relations,

[m] Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. ch. 6.

" I have

"I have no other reſource but in your fideli- CHAP. V. A. D. 1471.
"ty and valour, and in my own perſeverance. "I deliver into your hands the daughter and "ſon of your kings, whoſe ſafety depends on "your conduct." Affected and animated by this addreſs to them, the Hungarians drew their ſabres, and cried out with one voice, *Moriamur pro noſtro rege Maria Thereſa*; Let us die in the defence of our king Maria Thereſa. "They always," ſays Voltaire, "give "the title of king to their queen: in fact no "princeſs ever better deſerved that title[n]." The Hungarian ſtates publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the elector of Bavaria; and, by a ſolemn act, they perpetually excluded him and his poſterity from the throne of Hungary.

In the mean time, the king of Pruſſia detached ten thouſand men, from his army in Sileſia, to join the French and Bavarian forces. But the Hungarian nobility were now in arms; and the money which had been voted by the parliament of England, and which was now remitted to the queen of Hungary, was extremely beneficial to her affairs; by enabling her to pay her army, erect magazines, and complete her warlike preparations. Count Palfy, an old Hungarian nobleman, whom the queen honoured with the name of father, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thouſand men. The garriſon of that city being thereby ſtrongly reinforced, the elector of Bavaria

[n] Age of Lewis XV. ut ſupra.

quitted

CHAP. V. A. D. 1741.

quitted his deſign of beſieging it, and marched into Bohemia. Being there joined by twenty thouſand Saxons, he laid ſiege to Prague. The place was ſtormed, and taken by aſſault, on the 26th of October, by the gallantry of the famous Maurice count Saxe [H]; who exhibited, on this occaſion, great moderation and humanity. He not only ſaved the city from being plundered, but protected the perſons of the inhabitants from violence or inſult. The elector of Bavaria now made his public entry into Prague, and was crowned king of Bohemia in the month of December. The Pruſſians, under mareſchal Schwerin, alſo entered Moravia, and made themſelves maſters of Olmutz; but the queen of Hungary's generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated count Thoring, who commanded eight thouſand men, at the paſs of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution; while count Kevenhuller retook

[H] Voltaire ſays of count SAXE, who was natural ſon of Auguſtus II. king of Poland, that 'This general inherited 'his father's peculiar ſtrength of body, together with the 'mildneſs of his temper, and equal courage; but he poſſeſſ-'ed much ſuperior talents for war. His reputation was ſo 'great, that the inhabitants had, with one voice, elected him 'duke of Courland; but the Ruſſians, who gave laws to the 'North, had deprived him of that dignity, which the ſuf-'frage of a whole people had granted to his merit. He com-'forted himſelf, however, for his loſs, in the ſervice of 'France, and in the agreeable ſociety of that nation, which, 'as yet, was a ſtranger to his many great qualifications,' *Age of Lewis* XV. ch. 6.

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the city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Auſtria. On the 4th day of January following, the elector of Bavaria was choſen emperor of Germany, and was afterwards crowned at Franckfort on the Maine, by the name of Charles the Seventh. But the elevation of this prince to the imperial dignity was no acceſſion to his felicity: on the contrary, it was productive of events, by which his days were ſhortened and embittered.

CHAP. V. A. D. 1742.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Splendour of the court of Berlin, after the return of the king from Silesia. — Marriage of the Prince of Prussia.—The king sets out from Berlin in the midst of winter, in order to join his army, and oppose the progress of the Austrians. —He has an interview with the king of Poland. —He arrives at Prague, and proceeds from thence to Glatz in Bohemia, and afterwards to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia.—The town of Iglau taken by the prince Thierri of Anhalt Dessau.— Frederick makes himself master of Znaym.—Abandons Olmutz, and retreats out of Moravia.—He defeats the Austrian army, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, at Czaslaw, in Bohemia.—Concludes a peace with the queen of Hungary.—He returns to Berlin. Difficulties to which the French are reduced, after Frederick had concluded a separate peace with the court of Vienna.—The distressful situation of the emperor.

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

AFTER the return of the king of Prussia from the conquest of Silesia, his court at Berlin, at the commencement of the year 1742, was extremely splendid. "Since "Christmas," says Bielfeld, "Berlin has "been crowded with strangers of the first "rank; among whom are reckoned fourteen "sovereign princes. Every thing that could "possibly contribute to their entertainment, "during

" during their reſidence in this city, has been " done by his majeſty's command. Every " day was diſtinguiſhed, either by ſome royal " feaſt, or ſome new kind of diverſion [a]."

On the 6th of January, the king's eldeſt brother, William Auguſtus, prince of Pruſſia, was married to the princeſs Louiſa Amelia, daughter of the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel; and their nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. The king himſelf attended this ceremony, in a dreſs unuſually gay, and which is thus deſcribed by Bielfeld. " His majeſ- " ty's coat was of a ſilver ſtuff, with a ſhoul- " der knot, but the waiſtcoat and facings were " of a gold and ſilver brocade; all theſe were " heightened by the yellow ribband, and the " ſtar; and gave this monarch, in my eyes, ſo " young, ſo gay and graceful an air, that I " could not have refrained from loving him, " although he had been a ſtranger [b]." It had been the cuſtom of the houſe of Brandenburgh, as well as of other German courts, for ſome courtier to preſent any new-married princeſs, on the day after her nuptials, with a crown of flowers; and to addreſs, at the ſame time, a ſhort oration to the bride, relative to the ſtate into which ſhe had juſt entered. On this occaſion this ceremony was performed, and the coronary oration pronounced, by the king's

[a] Letters, vol. I. p. 94.

[b] Ibid, p. 98.

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

command, in the preſence of the whole court, by baron Bielfeld [1].

But the king of Pruſſia was not long occupied in theſe ceremonies, and in theſe pacific amuſements. He ſoon engaged in employments of a very different nature, and more ſuited to his active, enterprizing, and warlike character. The French and Bavarians, at the cloſe of the preceding year, had the mortification to ſee all the places of ſtrength, which they had conquered in Auſtria, retaken by count Kevenhuller. That Auſtrian general alſo ravaged Bavaria, and made himſelf maſter of Munich, the capital of that electorate. The king of Pruſſia, therefore, thought it neceſſary that he ſhould immediately exert himſelf, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Auſtrians. Accordingly, he ſet out from Berlin on the 18th of January, and lodged that night at Elſterwerda, a houſe belonging to the king of Poland, about ſix leagues from Dreſden [c]. He ſet out the next morning for that city, where he arrived about noon.

The king of Poland received him with great expreſſions of joy and friendſhip, and the remainder of that day was employed in the pleaſures of the carnival. But the king of Pruſſia was not inclined to ſpend much time in theſe amuſements. The very next morning

[1] Bielfeld's oration on this occaſion is printed in his Letters, Vol. I. p. 110—116.

[c] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, written by an officer, tranſlated from the French, p. 3. Lond. 12mo. 1763.

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e entered into ſerious conference with his CHAP.
olish majeſty, concerning the ſaid meaſures. A. D.
The reſult was, that a reſolution was formed 1744
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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

tend that our Lady ſhould be a loſer; and, therefore, offered her in reality what madame de Grunn had promiſed her in vain. The Jeſuits were charmed with this mark of piety in the king; and came, in great formality, to return his majeſty thanks, for this teſtimony of his favour to them, and of his devotion to the Virgin [d].

At Glatz the king was joined by his brother prince Henry, and ſuch of his retinue as had not attended him when he left Berlin. He ſet out, on the twenty-ſixth of the month, for Landſcron, through the ice and ſnow which then covered the formidable chain of mountains between Moravia and Bavaria. At Landſcron he found the count de Saxe, who, at that time, commanded the Saxon troops, and the count de Polaſtron, a lieutenant-general of the French army, who had come thither to receive the king's orders, both of them being to ſerve in the projected attack of prince Lobkowitz at Iglau.

Having reſted his troops one day at Landſcron, the king proceeded on the day following to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia. Here he was lodged in the caſtle of the count de Lichtenſtein, who was biſhop of Olmutz. He continued there about three days, waiting for the arrival of ſome troops who were to join him.

[d] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, ut ſupra, p. 5.

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

But ſome ceremonies, which were thought neceſſary to be obſerved in the biſhop's caſtle, being not agreeable to Frederick, he removed from thence, and took up his lodgings in the city. On the fifth of February, having been joined by ſome freſh troops, he quitted Olmutz, and proceeded to the little town of Wiſchaw. The following day he ſet out, at the head of four hundred huſſars, two battalions of grenadiers, and the Glaſenapp battalion of infantry. In the courſe of this day's march he was joined by the ſecond battalion of the regiment of Schwerin; and in the evening arrived at the village of Jedowitz. This place is ſo ſurrounded with rugged mountains, that it is difficult either to get in or out of it. It being but an inconſiderable village, and the weather extremely ſevere, the king lodged his huſſars at a neighbouring caſtle, and cauſed his grenadiers to march a league farther. The battalion of Glaſenapp was alſo obliged to take other quarters; ſo that the king remained alone with the regiment of Schwerin, expoſed to the incurſions of the garriſon of Brunn, which was only two leagues diſtant. The reſt of the Pruſſian regiments, both of horſe and foot, were cantoned as near as poſſible, in order to be ready to join, if circumſtances ſhould render it neceſſary.

THE next morning Frederick again marched with his forces, and proceeded from Jedowitz to Gourein. This day's march continued ten hours, and was extremely fatiguing: the

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

the road for more than two leagues being one continued defile, between two dreadful precipices, through which a broad waggon could ſcarcely paſs. Three men only could march in front; and the ice made the roads ſo ſlippery, that the feet of the ſoldiers, at every ſtep, ſeemed to go backwards rather than forwards. The cannon were with great difficulty drawn through this paſs; and many accidents retarded the progreſs of the troops. But Frederick himſelf marched the greateſt part of the way on foot: and the ſoldiers were greatly animated by obſerving the perſonal fatigue which the king underwent, and the ſpirit and chearfulneſs which he diſplayed [e]. Parties of Auſtrian huſſars often reconnoitred and approached the Pruſſians; but no attempt was made to attack them.

ON the fourteenth of the ſame month, the king detached eighteen battalions of foot, fourteen ſquadrons of dragoons, and two thouſand light horſe, under the command of prince Thierri of Anhalt Deſſau, to make an attempt upon the town of IGLAU. The troops ſent upon this expedition conſiſted partly of Pruſſians, and partly of Saxons; and on the day following the town was taken, and prince Thierri garriſoned it with Saxon troops. Four days after, the king himſelf arrived at ZNAYM, a frontier town of Moravia, of which he made

[e] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 11.

himſelf

himſelf maſter, and in which he found ſome proviſions, old cannon, and a great quantity of ball [f]. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

In March, prince Thierri made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of GOEDING on the frontiers of Hungary; and the king detached major-general de Poſadowſki, and colonel de Schmettau, with three battalions of foot, and two thouſand horſe, to ſcour the country round Vienna, and to raiſe contributions. Heavy contributions were, indeed, levied by the king of Pruſſia on the Auſtrian inhabitants of theſe countries in the courſe of his progreſs [g]; and they ſometimes experienced conſiderable evils even from the Auſtrian troops, though they ſuffered ſtill greater calamities from the Pruſſians [K]. On the twenty-firſt of April, the citadel of Glatz, which had

[f] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 15, 18.

[g] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XII. p. 111. Campaign's of the King of Pruſſia, ut ſupra, p. 19.

[K] The author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*, who was preſent in the Pruſſian camp, at the time when the Auſtrians expected that the ſiege of Brinn was about to commence, ſays, 'General Rothe, at that time commandant of Brinn, endeavoured to prevent, as long as he could, the blockade of that town: for he had begun to burn the villages that were neareſt to it, and was proceeding farther as the Saxons approached; which they did from the 24th to the 29th of March, and conſequently more ſlowly than the king had commanded. We ſaw every evening ſome habitations in flames, and reckoned fifteen country towns and villages, which the enemy had themſelves reduced to aſhes.' P. 30.

Of

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

had ſuſtained a long ſiege, ſurrendered to the arms of Frederick. The garriſon, which at the beginning of the blockade, had amounted to more than fifteen hundred, when it marched out conſiſted only of two hundred and ſixty men bearing arms, and three hundred ſick; all the reſt being dead, except ſome who had deſerted. Thirty-ſix braſs cannon were found in the fortreſs, together with ſome mortars, and warlike ſtores [k].

Of the cruelties exerciſed by the Pruſſians, the following paſſage from the ſame work affords no inconſiderable evidence. 'On the 16th of April, we proceeded to Hohenmauth; where the king had advice, that the rear-guard of the Saxons had been attacked by a detachment from the garriſon of Brinn, and that four companies of the count de Kofell's regiment, commanded by colonel Sedenz, had been entirely cut to pieces, except the colonel, and nine private men, who, after a gallant reſiſtance, ſurrendered priſoners of war. They alſo loſt four pieces of cannon. General Jaſmoud, who was marching to their relief, came too late. But becauſe the peaſants had fired upon him, and he underſtood that they had aſſiſted in the maſſacre of the Saxons, together with their wives and children, he made reprizals on them, and extirpated all the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex.' *Ibid.* p. 36, 37. The crime of which theſe Auſtrian peaſants had been guilty, and for which ſo bloody a revenge was taken, was that of joining with the troops of their own nation, in fighting againſt the invaders of their country. It does not appear even from this relation, written by an officer in the Pruſſian ſervice, that quarter had been refuſed to ſuch of the Saxons as would throw down their arms.

[k] Campaigns of the King of Pruſſia, p. 52.

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

THE king of Pruſſia was active and alert in his operations againſt the Auſtrians; but many circumſtances conſpired to prevent his obtaining the ſucceſs againſt them that he deſired. The Auſtrian army, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the grand duke of Tuſcany, was very conſiderable; and prince Lobkowitz had alſo a large body of Auſtrian forces under his command. The French and Saxon generals did not readily act in concert with the king of Pruſſia; and a jealouſy likewiſe ſubſiſted between the French generals, Belleiſle and Broglio, which prevented them from acting with ſufficient vigour againſt the Auſtrians. Theſe circumſtances, therefore, obliged Frederick to adopt a different mode of conduct from that which he had intended; and as he received certain intelligence, that prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of thirty thouſand infantry, and eighteen thouſand cavalry, was advancing againſt him, he found it neceſſary to abandon Olmutz, and to retreat from Moravia. But the Pruſſian regiments were previouſly ordered to lay the country entirely waſte, in order to deprive the Auſtrian troops of ſubſiſtence, if they ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh themſelves there.

THE retreat of the king of Pruſſia was conſidered as an event of great importance by the Auſtrians, as it appeared to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force againſt the French under Belleiſle and Broglio. But

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

the Pruſſian monarch, having received a conſiderable reinforcement under the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, marched to the relief of his allies in Bohemia. On the 13th of May, the king was encamped in a very advantageous ſituation, near Chrudim [L]. But prince Charles

[L] Of the camp at CHRUDIM, and the king's march to it, the following particulars are related by the author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*. 'The king ſet out for Chrudim 'at eight o'clock in the morning, at the head of the two bat-'talions of his guards, and marched to the eminence deſigned 'for the general quarters. The weather was extremely 'fine; and the proſpect of the plains and mountains, which 'are ſeen from the top of this eminence, as agreeable as you 'can poſſibly conceive. This was very charming in itſelf; 'but what rendered the ſight ſtill more brilliant, was, that 'you could perceive columns of infantry and cavalry, com-'ing from all quarters, like lines drawn from different points 'to reunite in a center. You know the beauty of our men, 'and the implements of war: yet I may venture to tell you, 'that you can ſcarcely form an adequate idea thereof; as I 'am perſuaded, that the moſt fertile imagination cannot draw 'to the life a picture ſo exquiſitely compleat. The columns 'were marching from all parts over the plain, and one might 'ſee them diſtinctly from the general quarters; but as they 'had ſome paſſes and defiles to come through, before they 'could arrive, one would have thought they came out of the 'heart of the mountains, and the very bowels of the earth. '*Parturiunt montes*, &c. ſays Horace: but here, inſtead of the 'poet's mouſe, you might ſee ſtrong ſtout men, and excel-'lent ſoldiers. Even the king ſeemed to be affected with 'ſuch a glorious ſpectacle.'

'I admired, that day, the manner in which the king, though 'fatigued, yet not ſatisfied with ſeeing every regiment take 'its proper place in the camp, made the tour of the whole, and

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

Charles of Lorrain having alſo marched into Bohemia, Frederick reſolved to engage him, before he could form a junction with the Auſtrian forces under the command of prince Lobkowitz. He, therefore, quitted his camp at Chrudim, and marched, on the fifteenth of the month, towards CZASLAU. On the ſeventeenth, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies came in ſight of each other near that town. An engagement took place between them about an hour after; when the action began by the fire of the Pruſſian artillery, which threw the left wing of the Auſtrians into ſome diſorder [i]. The Pruſſian cavalry alſo attacked that of the Auſtrians with great impetuoſity, and for ſome time had the advantage; but ſome of the Auſtrian ſquadrons fought with ſo much ardour, that the Pruſſians gave way, and the Auſtrian huſſars penetrated to the Pruſſian camp, and began to plunder the baggage. In the mean time, the infantry of both armies were cloſely engaged, and the Pruſſian infantry fought with ſuch determined bravery, that prince Charles of Lorrain at length found it neceſſary to retreat, and the king of Pruſſia remained maſter of the field of battle [M].

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'took the trouble himſelf to poſt the picquets and guards on 'the left wing, leaving the diſpoſition of thoſe on the right 'to the general prince Leopold.' p. 57, 58, 59.

[i] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 64.

[M] The author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns* ſays, that "the fields before Chotouſitz, and all round it, which had

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

Of the troops which engaged at the battle of Czaslau, the number of the Auſtrians was ſuperior to that of the Pruſſians. The Auſtrian army conſiſted of thirty-ſeven battalions of infantry, eighty-four ſquadrons of cavalry, and twenty ſquadrons of huſſars. The Pruſſian army conſiſted of thirty-three battalions of infantry, ſixty ſquadrons of cavalry, and ten ſquadrons of huſſars [k]. It was a hard fought battle; and though the victory was gained by the Pruſſians, yet the Auſtrians are ſaid to have carried off ſome of the Pruſſian ſtandards [l]. The action laſted about four hours. The loſs of men in the two armies was variouſly repreſented; but the Auſtrians appear to have had about ſix thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken pri-

" been the ſcene of the moſt bloody part of the battle, were " quite covered with Auſtrian grenadiers, and the beſt of " their foot, who had fallen in the action; and the roads " through which they directed their flight, were, in like man " ner, ſtrewed with their dead, dying, and wounded." P. 69.

This writer, ſpeaking of the behaviour of the king in the action, ſays, that " during the whole engagement, he maintained " a compoſure and preſence of mind that was truly admi " rable." P. 68. The ſame writer alſo ſays of prince Charles of Lorrain, that " his diſpoſitions for the battle were very " good; and with regard to his perſonal behaviour, all the " army bears him teſtimony, that he gave authentic proofs " of uncommon valour." P. 85.

[k] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 71.

[l] Gent. Mag. vol. XII. p. 277.

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

ſoners [x]. The loſs ſuſtained by the Pruſſians, though not equal, ſeems not to have been greatly inferior. Many officers, and ſome of them of rank, were killed and wounded on both ſides. Seventeen braſs cannon, which the Auſtrians were obliged to abandon, fell into the hands of the Pruſſians. An Auſtrian general, and a lieutenant colonel, who had been wounded in the action, and taken priſoners, afterwards dying of their wounds, the king of Pruſſia ordered them to be interred with all the honours and ceremonies due to their military rank. Prince Charles of Lorraine returned his Pruſſian Majeſty thanks, for this mark of reſpectful attention to theſe deceaſed officers; and the king's behaviour on this occaſion was extremely acceptable to the officers in the Auſtrian ſervice [m].

AFTER the battle of Czaſlau, the king of Pruſſia wrote a letter to mareſchal Broglio, to which he added the following poſtſcript: "I "have acquitted myſelf towards my allies, for "my troops have juſt obtained a compleat vic- "tory. It is your buſineſs to avail yourſelf of "it immediately, otherwiſe you may have

[x] According to the writer of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*, the loſs of the Auſtrians was, however, much greater. He ſays, that the count Schmettau affirmed, that he had ſeen an authentic liſt of prince Charles of Lorraine's army, by which his loſs, at the battle of Czaſlau, amounted to ten thouſand men.

[m] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 79.

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

"ſomething to anſwer for to your allies[n]." It is ſaid, that Broglio had long ſuſpected, that the king of Pruſſia would not act in ſuch a manner as to promote the views of France; and that he had repeatedly written to his court, that "they ought to have no reliance upon "the king of Pruſſia, who had nothing but his "own intereſt in view; and that before long "he would be ſeen taking the part of the queen "of Hungary; or at leaſt making peace with "her, regardleſs of France and her allies[o]." But Broglio's letters met with no credit at Verſailles, becauſe mareſchal Belleiſle, who frequently viſited the Pruſſian monarch in his camp, and who ſeems to have been amuſed by him, ſtrongly aſſured the French court of the firmneſs of his attachment to the alliance. Belleiſle, however, was ſomewhat alarmed at the poſtſcript of the king's letter to Broglio; and repaired to his camp, in order to perſuade him to be firm to their cauſe. Frederick on this occaſion ſaid to him, "I give you notice, that "prince Charles is advancing upon mareſchal "Broglio, and that if he does not avail himſelf "of the advantage I have had over the prince, "I ſhall make my own terms[p]."

Soon after the battle of Czaſlau, the king of Pruſſia encamped his army, very advantageouſ-

[n] The Private Life of Lewis XV. tranſlated by Mr. Juſtamond, vol. II. p. 86.

[o] Id. ibid.

[p] Id. ibid.

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ſy in the neighbourhood of Kuttenberg [o] and the Elbe; but a negociation was about this time ſet on foot for a ſeparate peace between

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

[o] Of Frederick's camp at KUTTENBERG, the following account is given by the author of the *King of Pruſſia's Campaigns*. 'On the firſt of June our left wing decamped, 'and marched in two columns to join the right, which had 'entered the new camp that morning.—The right wing is 'covered by the little town of Maleſchau, and the left by 'the eminences near the village of Neſchkaretitz; ſo that 'the extent from wing to wing is three quarters of a German 'mile. Our front is every where inacceſſible, having all 'along it moraſſes, hollow ways, and very narrow defiles. 'In the few places where an enemy might attempt to beat 'up our quarters, the king has cauſed ſtrong redoubts to be 'built, and well provided with artillery, which render thoſe 'places as little liable to inſult as the reſt. The right flank 'is covered alſo by moraſſes and hollow ways, and the left 'by ſmall rivulets and marſhes. In the rear of the camp 'there are numerous pits of prodigious depth; and theſe 'pits, which are the remains of the ſilver mines formerly 'worked in this place, reach from the right wing to the 'town of Kuttenberg; which town, together with a vaſt 'number of hollow ways, covers the rear of our left wing. 'Before the middle of the front, and beyond the moraſſes, 'there is a wood of oaks, which begins at the top of an 'eminence, and reaches all the way down its ſides to theſe 'moraſſes, the dikes and cauſeways whereof are occupied 'by poſts of infantry. In the wood itſelf is encamped 'count Hauditz's regiment of huſſars, which defends the entrance into it, and if puſhed can fall back under the fire of 'the poſts of infantry. You will underſtand by this deſcription, though imperfect, that our camp is very ſtrong, 'and that the king, by this poſition, has it in his power to accept, or to decline a battle, at his pleaſure. All the connoiſſeurs admire it, and agree, that the choice is worthy of 'its author.' P. 80, 81, 82.

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

him and the queen of Hungary. The preſent ſituation of affairs, and particularly the conſequences of the defeat of the Auſtrian army at Czaſlau, rendered a peace deſirable to the court of Vienna; and the king of Pruſſia was not averſe to it [P]. Frederick and prince Charles

[P] The author of the *Private Life of Lewis* XV. ſays, 'The queen of Hungary had been ſenſible of the neceſſity 'of getting rid of an enemy ſo formidable, from his vicinity, 'his youth, his activity, his valour, his prudence, and from 'the combination of the ſeveral qualities that conſtitute the 'general, the politician, and the ſtateſman. She reſolved 'to give up to him what he had conquered; ſhe, therefore, 'made propoſals to him, convinced that by this ſacrifice ſhe 'might preſerve the reſt of her dominions, and perhaps re-'venge herſelf for her loſſes upon the reſt of her enemies. 'The king of Pruſſia, on his part, was perfectly ſatisfied 'with obtaining by treaty the fruits of two campaigns, which 'he might have loſt again by the fate of arms, and he had no 'hopes of gaining any farther acquiſitions. He foreſaw, 'that the burthen of the war would in a ſhort time fall en-'tirely upon him. The emperor's troops, which were com-'manded by bad generals, and were feeble in themſelves, 'were ſubſiſted only by the money of France, and would 'neceſſarily diſperſe whenever that ſhould fail; which it 'muſt ſoon do. The Saxons had given no proofs of great 'bravery, and had been of no uſe. When the firſt fire of 'the French was once extinguiſhed, it was to be apprehend-'ed that their army, being at a diſtance from home, would 'grow diſheartened, would dwindle for want of recruits, 'would diſband itſelf, or periſh for want. Prudence requir-'ed him to prevent all theſe misfortunes, and even to affect 'a moderation, which is always becoming to conquerors, 'and to aggrandize his dominions while he ſpared the blood 'of his ſubjects. He was not reſtrained by his engagements 'with his allies; he had begun the war ſingly, and had 'made his conqueſts himſelf; he, therefore, thought him-'ſelf

Charles of Lorrain had a private interview[q]; and the earl of Hyndford, ambaſſador from the court of Great Britain, who was preſent in the Pruſſian camp, endeavoured to facilitate the negociation. That nobleman, was, indeed, veſted, by her Hungarian majeſty, with full powers to treat with the Pruſſian monarch[r]. A treaty was at length concluded at Breſlaw, on the 11th of June, by which the queen of Hungary ceded to the king of Pruſſia not only the Upper and Lower Sileſia, excepting the duchies of Jagerndorff, Teſchen, and Troppau; but alſo the principality of Glatz in Bohemia. The king of Pruſſia charged himſelf with the payment of the ſums lent, by the merchants of London, to the late emperor, on the Sileſian revenues. He likewiſe engaged to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, the czarina, the king of Denmark, the States-General, the houſe of Wolfenbuttel, and the king

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

ſelf entitled to ſecure them; he conſidered himſelf as having done enough for his allies, in having aſſiſted their ſeveral invaſions by the powerful diverſions he had made.' Vol. II. p. 84, 85.

[q] Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Pruſſia, p. 63. Gent. Mag. vol. XII. p. 333.

[r] Smollet's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, publiſhed as a Continuation of Hume, vol. III. p. 78. edit. 8vo. 1785.

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

of Poland, elector of Saxony, on certain conditions, which were accepted.

When every thing relative to the treaty of Breſlaw was concluded, the king of Pruſſia quitted his camp at Kuttenberg, and ſet out for Koningſgratz, where he arrived on the 26th of the month[s]. Beſides his ordinary retinue, he was accompanied by the princes his brothers, and by prince Frederick of Brunſwick. Having paſſed a night at Koningſgratz, he proceeded the next day to Glatz, where he examined the fortifications, and gave directions for the erection of ſome additional works. On the twenty-ninth he arrived at Neiſs, where alſo he ordered ſome new fortifications to be erected. On the third of July, he came to Breſlaw, where he was preſent, two days after, at a numerous aſſembly, in the palace of the biſhop, cardinal Zinzendorf. A grand ball was given by the cardinal on the ſeventh, at which the king was preſent; and the following day he attended at the cathedral, where a ſermon was preached by the cardinal himſelf. He ſet out the next morning for Great Glogau, from whence he proceeded to Franckfort on the Oder, and on the 12th of the month, about noon, he arrived at Berlin, where he was received by his ſubjects with great joy, and with loud acclamations[t]. A treaty of mutual defence and guaranty was afterwards concluded between the king of Great Britain and the

[s] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, ut ſupra, p. 93.

[t] Ibid. p. 94—102.

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king of Pruſſia; and which was ratified on the part of the former at Whitehall, on the eighteenth of November, 1742. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

After the concluſion of the treaty of Breſlaw, the French generals and troops in Bohemia found themſelves in the moſt critical ſituation. Being now wholly deſerted by the Pruſſians and Saxons, the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they encamped themſelves in an advantageous ſituation; and prince Charles, being joined by the Auſtrian troops under prince Lobkowitz, encamped, in ſight of them, on the hills of Giriſnitz. The grand duke of Tuſcany then arrived in the Auſtrian army, of which he took the command; and the French generals offered to ſurrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they were in poſſeſſion of in Bohemia, provided they were allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. This propoſal was rejected by the duke of Tuſcany, and Prague was inveſted on all ſides about the end of July. The operations of the ſiege were not well conducted; but the place was, however, ſo effectually blocked up, that famine muſt have compelled the French to ſurrender at diſcretion, if extraordinary efforts had not been made for their relief. In the mean time, the emperor had made advances to the queen of Hungary. He promiſed, that the French forces ſhould quit Bohemia, and evacuate the empire;

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

pire; and he offered to renounce all pretenſions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Auſtrians would reſtore to him his electorate of Bavaria; but theſe conditions were declined by the court of Vienna.

THE king of France was ſoon made acquainted with the condition to which his generals, Belleiſle and Broglio, were reduced; upon which he immediately ſent orders to mareſchal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were joined by the French and Imperialiſts from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorrain, having received intelligence of their junction and deſign, left eighteen thouſand men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of general Feſtititz; while he himſelf, with the main body of his army, advanced towards the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppoſe Maillebois. He was there joined by the Auſtrian troops under count Kevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by count Seckendorff, and the count de Saxe. But Seckendorff was ſent back to Bavaria, and mareſchal Maillebois entered Bohemia. He marched, however, with ſuch precaution, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. In the mean time general Feſtititz, for want of ſufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague; and the French

French generals, being now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois was then in Egra; so that a junction between him and the other French generals seemed not impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking possession of the passes in the interposing mountains, utterly defeated their scheme. Maillebois retreated to the palatinate, whither he was followed, and extremely harrassed on his march, by prince Charles; while prince Lobkowitz, with a strong body of Austrian forces, obliged Belleisle and Broglio again to seek refuge in the capital of Bohemia. CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

The French generals were now surrounded on all sides; but soon after the siege of Prague was resumed, Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and took upon him the command of the army of Maillebois, who was now recalled by the French court. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between the city and the adjacent country, that the French troops were reduced to great extremities, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provisions. In this state of things, mareschal Belleisle secretly resolved to attempt a retreat. With great diligence he re-mounted his cavalry, and sent troops of them out every day to forage. At last, by making, in one quarter of the town, a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and

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CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

gained a day's march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuſe the enemy, he left a ſmall garriſon in the city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The cold was intenſe, and the ground covered with ſnow. All the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twelve thouſand infantry, and eight thouſand cavalry, hung on his rear. But, under all theſe diſadvantages, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. With ſo much judgment had he planned his route, that, though the Auſtrians occupied all the paſſes on the two principal roads that led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progreſs, by ſtriking though frozen marſhes, which had, perhaps, never before been trodden by the foot of man; he himſelf always pointing the way, though confined to his carriage by the gout. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was ſtill in the hands of the French, and entered Alſace without the loſs of a ſingle man by the hands of the enemy; though more than eight hundred of his ſoldiers loſt their lives, in conſequence of the hardſhips they underwent, and the extreme rigour of the ſeaſon [u].

DURING theſe tranſactions, the emperor of Germany was ſtripped of all his dominions; and

[u] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 82, 84. and Smollet, ut ſupra.

being

being now abandoned by his allies, he retired to Franckfort, where he lived in indigence and obſcurity. "He was even deſtitute," ſays Voltaire, "of the means of ſupporting "his family in that imperial city, in which "no perſon would advance a penny to the "chief of the empire." But mareſchal de Noailles afforded him ſome aſſiſtance, by giving him a bill of credit for 40,000 crowns on the French king [v]. Some attempts were now made towards an accommodation between the emperor and the queen of Hungary, but without ſucceſs; and the Auſtrians having now taken poſſeſſion of Prague, that princeſs was crowned queen of Bohemia in that city.

CHAP. VI. A. D. 1742.

[v] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 10.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Frederick applies himſelf to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, and eſtabliſhes a new academy of ſciences and belles lettres at Berlin.—Marriage of the princeſs Ulrica, the king's ſiſter, with the prince-royal of Sweden.—Frederick again prepares for war.—His anſwers to the requiſitions made by the earl of Hyndford, as ambaſſador from Great Britain.—He concludes a treaty at Franckfort, and engages to ſupport the emperor.—Publiſhes a manifeſto againſt the queen of Hungary, and ſends reſcripts to the different courts of Europe.

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1742.

THE king of Pruſſia, after his return to Berlin, was extremely attentive to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, and to the forming ſuch eſtabliſhments as would contribute to its proſperity and ſplendour. He alſo viſited different parts of his dominions, receiving as he paſſed petitions from his ſubjects, inquiring into their grievances, and into the adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſtate of his revenues, and the condition of his troops. On theſe occaſions he ſeldom ſtaid longer at any place than was neceſſary to make the proper inquiries; and he travelled with a ſmall retinue, and with great rapidity.

FROM the commencement of Frederick's reign, he had been ſolicitous to eſtabliſh in his domi-

dominions a reſpectable academy of ſciences and belles lettres; but the operations of war had hitherto retarded his deſign. His grandfather, Frederick I. had inſtituted a royal ſociety at Berlin for the promotion of ſcience, the plan of which was formed, and the ſtatutes of it drawn up, by the celebrated Leibnitz; who had been prevailed upon by the queen, Sophia Charlotte, to reſide in the Pruſſian dominions. Leibnitz was appointed the firſt preſident, and continued in that office till his death. He obtained from the king, in behalf of the ſociety, the excluſive privilege of printing all the almanacks uſed in the Pruſſian dominions; on condition that the ſociety ſhould furniſh the public with every kind of almanack, compoſed with the greateſt accuracy, and in the moſt convenient form [a]. The ſociety derived conſiderable emolument from this privilege, and their almanacks were conſidered as the moſt correct and ingenious of any in Europe. By the income hence derived, the neceſſary expences of the ſociety were defrayed, and penſions provided for ſuch of the members as were reſident at Berlin, and actively employed in ſcientific purſuits. At the recommendation of M. Leibnitz, the ſociety alſo eſtabliſhed an anatomical theatre, in which able profeſſors were appointed to read public lectures, and who were furniſhed with proper ſubjects from the hoſpitals. While Leibnitz lived, and dur-

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1742.

[a] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 153, 154.

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1742.

ing the reign of Frederick I. the ſociety continued to be in a reſpectable ſtate, and their tranſactions were regularly publiſhed. But after the acceſſion of Frederick William, who paid little attention to literature or ſcience, and therefore did not give much countenance to the ſociety, it greatly declined, and ſunk in its reputation. No part of the inſtitution was regarded by the king, but that which related to anatomy, which he conſidered as beneficial to his army, becauſe it promoted ſkill in ſurgery. In other reſpects, he treated the ſociety with little regard [q]; and by his direction perſons of no merit, but who happened to be his favourites, were penſioned out of their revenues. On the acceſſion of Frederick III. he invited learned men into his dominions, and aſſembled ſuch perſons together as were qualified to form a reſpectable academy. But the eſtabliſhment of a new academy being delayed, by the military enterprizes in which the king was engaged, mareſchal Schmettau, field general

[q] Bielfeld ſays, 'The king propoſed to the ſociety, 'from time to time, queſtions of mere drollery, and they 'anſwered him in a ſuitable ſtrain. He once aſked them, 'for example: "What was the phyſical cauſe, that two "glaſſes, when filled with champaign wine, and ſtruck "againſt each other, gave not that clear and ſharp tone, as "when filled with any other wine? And what was the "cauſe of their dull and flat ſound." The members anſwered, that as 'they had not been uſed to drink champaign, they could not pretend to aſſign the cauſe. The 'king ſent them a dozen bottles to make the experiment. 'They drank out the wine, but determined nothing.' Letters, vol. I. p. 158.

of

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1742.

of the ordnance, and M. Borck, cabinet minister to the king, agreed between themſelves to collect a literary ſociety, and to have their meetings at each others houſes alternately. They opened their plan to baron Bielfeld and to M. Jordan, a privy counſellor, and a great favourite of the king. Theſe gentlemen heartily concurred in the deſign, and many others were ſoon admitted into this new ſociety. Their firſt meeting was at mareſchal Schmettau's, and it was opened by M. Francheville, who read an ode compoſed for the occaſion. They then ſketched out a ſet of laws, in which the following poſitions were laid down as fundamental maxims: "That this was not an "empire, or kingdom, but a republic of learn-"ing, the citizens of which muſt enjoy the "greateſt freedom, if any thing excellent was "expected from their labours; that the un-"derſtanding could ſuffer no reſtraint; that "the members of this ſociety were not pu-"pils; and that there wanted no other regu-"lations, but ſuch as were neceſſary to pre-"ſerve order, and to connect the members into "a perfect union with each other [b]."

THE king being made acquainted with this new literary ſociety, and having teſtified his approbation of it, it was ſoon reſolved to inſtitute a new ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES, by uniting this new ſociety to the old royal ſociety of Berlin. Ac-

[b] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. 1. p. 161, 162.

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1743.

cordingly by a royal edict, dated the thirteenth of November, 1743, his majeſty appointed ſeveral commiſſioners, who were directed to inquire into the ſtate of the finances of the old royal ſociety, and to draw up the inſtitutes of the new academy. Among the commiſſioners for this purpoſe were mareſchal Schmettau, count Podewils, baron Bielfeld, and M. Jordan [R]. The whole plan was at length adjuſted,

[R] CHARLES STEPHEN JORDAN was born at Berlin, on the 27th of Auguſt, 1700. His father was a French Proteſtant, who having brought up three of his other ſons to trade, reſolved to bring up Charles Stephen, who was the youngeſt, to the church, though this deſtination ſeems not to have been agreeable to his ſon's inclination. Young Jordan had, however, a ſtrong propenſity to reading; and he was ſent to ſtudy at Magdeburgh, under the eye of an uncle, one of the paſtors of that place. In 1719, he was removed to Geneva, where he ſtudied under the ableſt profeſſors in philoſophy, eloquence, and divinity, and afterwards proſecuted his ſtudies for ſome time at Lauſanne. He returned to Berlin, and in 1725, was made miniſter of the pariſh of Potzlow, a village belonging to one of the marches of Brandenburgh. In 1727, he was removed to Prentzlow, and then married Lauſanne Perrault, a lady of great virtue and accompliſhments, by whom he had two daughters. In this ſituation he lived very happily five years, performing in an exemplary manner the duties of the paſtoral office; but in 1732 he loſt his wife, which ſo much affected him, that his grief impaired his health, and brought on an expectoration of blood, which had nearly proved fatal to him. At this time the baroneſs of Knyphauſen made a propoſal to him, that he ſhould undertake the care of her eldeſt ſon, and attend him in a journey to Holland, England, and France. He

juſted, and approved by the king, who wrote an ode on the occaſion, and was declared pro-

He accepted of this offer, quitted his ſtation as a miniſter, and travelled into thoſe countries, where he became acquainted with ſome of the moſt eminent literary men of that age; and he afterwards publiſhed an account of his travels, in one volume, 12mo.

After his return to Berlin, in 1736, his merit as a literary man attracted the notice of the prince-royal of Pruſſia, who took him into his ſervice, and whom he aſſiſted in his ſtudies. He reſided with the prince at Rheinſberg till his acceſſion to the throne, when he was made a privy counſellor, and henceforward particularly attended to the regulation of the police of Berlin. Under his inſpection, the ſtreets were cleared of beggars, and a workhouſe was eſtabliſhed, in which a thouſand perſons were ſubſiſted by their own labour, without any expence to the ſtate; and under his care the city of Berlin was alſo divided into wards, and a proper perſon appointed in each, to ſee the laws of the police duly obeyed. He attended alſo to the public ſchools, and other ſeminaries of learning, and was particularly attentive to the intereſts of the new academy of arts and ſciences, over which he preſided as vice-preſident. He attended the king into Sileſia, at the time when he made a conqueſt of that province. After a long and painful illneſs, which he endured with great patience and reſignation, he died at Berlin, on the 24th of May, 1745, in the forty-fifth year of his age. On account of his having wholly quitted the miniſtry, intimations had been thrown out, that he was a diſbeliever of the Chriſtian religion. But, a few days before his death, he ſaid to baron Bielfeld, "Remember, that I die in the belief of the divine "miſſion of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſay it to the king, when you "find a fit opportunity." The king himſelf wrote an *Eloge* upon him, which was read before the royal academy at Berlin, and which has been printed in French, Engliſh, and German. M. Jordan publiſhed a life of M. CROZE, who had in the earlier part of his life aſſiſted him in his ſtudies; and alſo *un Recueil de Literature, de Philoſophie, & d' Hiſtoire*, in 12mo.

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CHAP. VII. A. D. 1743.

rector of the new academy. Four curators were appointed, who were to preſide alternately, each for ſix months. Theſe were mareſchal Schmettau, count Gotter, M. Viereck, and M. Borck, all miniſters of ſtate; and M. Jordan was appointed vice-preſident. M. Jariges, a privy counſellor [s], was appointed ſecretary; and profeſſor Formey academical hiſtoriographer [t]. The academy was divided

[s] The title of *privy-counſellor* in Pruſſia is merely an honorary title; at leaſt it was ſo during the reign of the late king. It was not the cuſtom of Frederick to aſk any advice of his privy counſellors.

[t] J. H. Samuel Formey was born at Berlin in the year 1711, and early intended by his parents for the miniſtry. In 1720, he was placed in the French college, which he quitted in 1725, having gone through all its claſſes; and afterwards attended, for two years, M. la Croze, profeſſor of philoſophy. In 1727, he was admitted a *propoſant*, an appellation given to young divines licenſed to preach; and in 1731, he was called to the church of Brandenburgh. But here he ſtaid only a few weeks, being removed to the paſtorſhip of the church of Frederickſtadt at Berlin. He afterwards aſſiſted M. de Beauſobre in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*; and when that gentleman died, in 1738, he continued to execute a part of that work in conjunction with M. de Mauclerc. But M. de Mauclerc alſo dying in 1742, the whole of that publication was for ſome time written by M. Formey only. With the aſſiſtance of M. de Perard, he afterwards began *La Nouvelle Bibliothèque Germanique*; and for many years that literary journal was written by M. Formey alone, and publiſhed four times every year. But long before this period of his life, in the year 1737, he was made profeſſor of eloquence in the French college; and in 1739, was promoted to the chair of philoſophy.

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vided into four claſſes, each of which had its director and ſecretary. The firſt claſs had for its object the mathematics, in their full extent; the ſecond, ſpeculative philoſophy, metaphyſics, morality, the laws of nature and nations, &c. the third, phyſics, and experimental philoſophy, including chymiſtry, &c. and the fourth was appropriated to literature and the polite arts. The academy was to meet every Thurſday afternoon; in each claſs, by rotation, ſome performance, relative to the buſineſs of that claſs, was to be read by one of the members. After the reading was over, it was the buſineſs of the ſecretary to give an account of all letters, propoſitions, or ſubjects of inquiry,

On the eſtabliſhment of the new academy of ſciences and belles lettres at Berlin, M. Formey was appointed hiſtoriographer, and in 1748 he was made perpetual ſecretary; and from that time he digeſted the *Mémoires de l'Académie*. He alſo wrote many other works, in the French language, particularly the Life of John Philip Barretier, from materials furniſhed by the father of that extraordinary young man; a conciſe Hiſtory of Philoſophy and Philoſophers, which has been tranſlated into Engliſh; an Abridgment of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, which has alſo been tranſlated into Engliſh, in two volumes, 8vo. as has likewiſe a ſmall volume of Philoſophical Miſcellanies, and Elementary Principles of the Belles Lettres. He alſo publiſhed, Moral Diſcourſes; Sermons: Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations, &c. He had likewiſe projected a Philoſophical Dictionary, and made a conſiderable progreſs in it; but upon the appearance of the plan of the *Encyclopédie*, he tranſmitted his materials to the editors of that great work, and many of the articles which he had written were inſerted in it.

which

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1743.

which had been communicated by foreign members, or other correſpondents; and the members of the academy preſent alſo related any diſcoveries, or improvements in ſcience, which they had made, and which they thought proper to communicate. Out of the papers read before the academy ſome were to be ſelected every year for publication; and there were to be two public annual meetings of the academy; one on the 24th of January, the king's birth-day; and the other on the 31ſt of May, the day of his acceſſion to the throne [c].

AFTER the eſtabliſhment of the new academy, one of the moſt remarkable events which took place at Berlin, about the ſame time, was the marriage of the princeſs Louiſa Ulrica, the king's ſiſter, with the prince-royal of Sweden. They were married in July, 1744. The prince of Pruſſia was proxy for the Swediſh prince on this occaſion. The ceremony was performed with great magnificence; and the king of Pruſſia himſelf appeared with unuſual ſplendour of dreſs. "The king's dreſs," ſays Bielfeld, "was of a bright blue, completely covered with ſilver embroidery [d]." A ſumptuous entertainment [u] followed the ceremony; comedies,

[c] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

[d] Ibid. p. 180.

[u] Bielfeld ſays, 'The king ſat down early to table, and 'to that where his majeſty ſat, none were admitted but princes, and princeſſes, excepting the ladies of the ambaſſadors.

'All

comedies, operas, and balls, were given on several ſubſequent days; and a magnificent ſupper [v], in a gallery belonging to the royal

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

' All the diſhes, plates, chandeliers, and, in ſhort, every thing ' that was uſed at this table, was of ſolid gold. There were ' beſides four other ſumptuous tables, which were placed in ' rooms adjacent to the great hall; and, in every reſpect, this ' royal feaſt was conducted with a ſplendour and magnificence, ' which had never before been ſeen in Berlin. After dinner, ' there was danced, as uſual, on the occaſion, the dance of ' torches, which was followed by a ball, that laſted till broad ' day. The next day, which was Wedneſday, there was a ' comedy, and in the evening an open table at court. On ' Thurſday her majeſty, the reigning queen, gave a noble ' entertainment at Schonhauſen. On Friday there was an ' opera; and on Saturday her majeſty, the queen mother, ' gave a ſupper, an illumination, and a ball, at Monbijoux.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 181, 182.

[v] 'Monday afternoon,' ſays Bielfeld, 'the court, and ' the gentry of the town, of both ſexes, went, with their gay ' carriages and liveries, to Charlottenbourg. This proceſſion, ' by affording a very pleaſing proſpect, made part of the en- ' tertainments. The great road that goes through the Thier- ' garden of Berlin, and quite up to Charlottenbourg, was ' thronged with company. At different ſpaces on the road, ' tents were ſet up, where the citizens of Berlin repoſed, re- ' freſhed and amuſed themſelves, with beholding the tranſition ' of the ſplendid equipages, ſome drawn by pairs, and ſome ' by ſets of horſes. When the company came to the palace, ' they aſſembled in the *orangerie*, which forms a gallery of a ' prodigious length. This whole gallery was adorned with ' wreaths and groups of flowers, and with lamps of various ' colours; and in every window was placed an orange tree ' in bloom, which, at the ſame time that they afforded a de- ' lightful proſpect, gave a moſt agreeable ſcent to the whole ' apartment. At the end of this gallery was erected a ſmall ' elegant theatre, where his majeſty cauſed an Italian *operetta*,

' or

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

royal palace of Charlottenbourg. The king wrote an ode on the departure of his ſiſter, and

'or paſtoral, to be performed, which was interſperſed with 'very fine dances. The incomparable Solembini here excell-'ed himſelf.

'When the opera was over, the whole court went on the 'great terrace, from whence they beheld the whole garden 'illuminated. After half an hour ſpent in walking, they ſat 'down to ſupper. Never before did I eat at ſo great a table, 'and probably never ſhall again. It conſiſted of three hun-'dred covers, and took up almoſt the whole *orangerie*, from 'one end to the other. All perſons of any rank were admit-'ted without diſtinction. The king, the queens, the princes, 'and princeſſes, ſat at the middle of this table, under a ſort 'of canopy; and on each ſide of them ſat the cabinet miniſ-'ters, the foreign miniſters, and ladies of the firſt quality; and 'after them, the reſt of the company without ceremony, each 'one where he could find a place.

'The ſupper was magnificent, and every part of it in the 'higheſt perfection. There was not the leaſt want of any 'thing, and the company was ſerved with the greateſt regu-'larity and diſpatch: for which purpoſe the king's whole li-'very, and a hundred huntſmen attended: and for their 'greater convenience, in every nich of the gallery was placed 'a ſide-board, where they found every thing neceſſary ready 'to their hands. As a vaſt number of plates and diſhes were 'requiſite to ſerve a table of three hundred perſons, it was 'found neceſſary, on this occaſion, to take a large quantity 'of plate out of the royal treaſury, where it had been depo-'ſited by Frederick I. and Frederick William. In a word, 'every part of this repaſt was complete. The company ſat 'long at table; and were greatly pleaſed with partaking of 'an entertainment that the king alone could give.

'After table the company returned to the garden; and on 'the Spree, that runs at the bottom of it, by his majeſty's 'direction,

and appeared to be much affected on the occa- CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.
sion. She is deſcribed as a very amiable prin-
ceſs [w].

BUT

'direction, a very grand fire-work was played off. While 'this was performing, M. Frederſtorf cauſed the table to be 'removed, and the *orangerie* prepared for a ball. We were 'aſtoniſhed at our return. The alteration was ſo ſudden, 'that it appeared to be the work of enchantment. The 'king opened the ball with the princeſs royal of Sweden, 'and the whole court danced till day-light: and on our re-'turn to Berlin, we found the road ſtill filled with compa-'ny.' Letters, ut ſupra, p. 182—186.

[w] The following account is given by Bielfeld of the departure of the princeſs from Berlin: 'At length the day 'of ſeparation arrived. The king had appointed the chief 'mareſchal, count Gotter, to conduct the princeſs to Stral-'ſund, where two Swediſh ſenators, ſeveral of the nobility, 'with other ladies and gentlemen of the court, waited to re-'ceive her. His majeſty, who judged, by the emotions of 'his own heart, that the moment of ſeparation would be at-'tended with the ſevereſt affliction, directed an opera to be 'performed, with a view to diſſipate the thoughts of it: and 'ordered the ordinary table to be ſerved in the great hall, 'with a cold, but very elegant collation.

'The plan was ſo laid, that, after the opera, the princeſs 'ſhould make a ſhort ſupper, ſlip on her riding cloak, em-'brace her relations, throw herſelf into the coach, and de-'part like lightning. Count Gotter was charged to conduct 'this plan, and to haſten the departure. But all his care 'was uſeleſs. The tranſcendent virtues of the princeſs 'Ulrica made her too dear to her family, and her country, 'to ſuffer the cruel moment of eternal ſeparation to paſs 'without marks of the deepeſt diſtreſs.

'When I entered the opera, I ſaw grief and dejection on 'every countenance. The princeſs was dreſſed in a roſe co-'loured Amazonian habit, trimmed with ſilver: the lappets

'and

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

BUT the king of Pruſſia was far from being wholly occupied in ſuch domeſtic attentions, and pacific employments. In the midſt of apparent

'and veſt were of a ſea green. She had on an Engliſh hat
'of black velvet, adorned with a white feather; and her
'flowing hair was tied with a roſe coloured ribband. She
'appeared as beautiful as love itſelf. But this elegant dreſs,
'which heightened her charms, increaſed our anxiety, by
'telling us, that the hour was come, when we were to loſe
'her for ever. In the ſecond act, the young prince Ferdi-
'nand came into the ſtate box, threw his arms round the
'princeſs's neck, and bathing her with his tears, cried out,
'*Ah! my dear Ulrica, now it is done! now I ſhall never ſee*
'*you more!* The grief that lay ſmothering at every heart,
'touched by theſe words, burſt forth with greater violence.
'The princeſs held her brother faſt in her arms, and could
'only anſwer with ſighs and tears. The two queens could
'no longer refrain from weeping. The princes and princeſſes
'joined their tears.—The grief was infectious; it ſeized in
'a moment all the firſt ranks of the boxes, which were filled
'with the principal nobility. Every one had diſtinct cauſe
'for ſorrow, and every one melted into tears. Nobody any
'longer regarded the opera, and I found my heart ſo oppreſ-
'ſed and afflicted, that I was glad when it was over.

'A ſecret motion carried me, againſt my will, into the
'palace. I entered the king's chamber, and found the
'whole royal family, ſurrounded by part of the nobility.
'Here was the fulneſs of ſorrows. Every one was diſſolved
'in grief: and here I beheld a ſcene, the more affecting as
'it was the mere work of nature; and where the ſincerity
'of paſſion was expreſſed with an energy, that it is impoſ-
'ſible for art to imitate. The king had written an ode on
'the departure of the princeſs, wherein he gave her the laſt
'adieu, in a moſt tender and affecting manner.—His majeſty
'gave it the princeſs, at the moment ſhe was going to em-
'brace the queen. She caſt her eyes over it; her ſpirits
'left

rent peace, he was preparing for war; and his preparations were ſo manifeſt, and ſo conſiderable, as to excite the jealouſy and apprehenſion of the court of Vienna. At the beginning of the preſent year, a war had alſo broken out between England and France; and as a treaty of mutual defence and guaranty had been concluded between the king of Pruſſia, and the king of Great Britain, at the cloſe of the year 1742, his Britannick majeſty, by his ambaſſador, the earl of Hyndford, made a requiſition to his Pruſſian majeſty of a body of troops, in conformity to the terms of the treaty of mutual defence and guaranty, and alſo agreeably to ſome ſtipulations which had been made in the treaty of Breſlaw. When

" left her, and ſhe fainted under the weight of diſtreſs. " Scarcely could the king reſtrain his ſpirits from following " her's: the tears flowed haſtily down his cheeks. All the " princes and princeſſes ſtood fixed in grief. At laſt count " Gotter, who thought it was now time to end this mourn- " ful ſcene, ruſhed into the chamber, like the north wind " upon a bed of roſes, with noiſe and fury; forced through " the circle; ſnatched the princeſs from the arms of the " queen her mother; and bore her out of the chamber. The " whole court followed; and, in a moment, the princeſs " found herſelf in the coach, which ſtood in the court before " the palace.—The counteſs of Schwerin, who was appoint- " ed to accompany the princeſs to Stralſund, and the ladies " Von Kneſebeck and Sparre, placed themſelves in the coach " with her highneſs. The ſtroke was inſtantaneous. The " coachman drove furiouſly on; the coach flew before our " eyes; and, in a moment, the king and the court loſt ſight " of the beloved Ulrica for ever; and remained, for ſome " minutes, amazed and motionleſs. *Ibid.* p. 188—193.

lord

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

lord Hyndford had a private audience of the Pruſſian monarch on this ſubject, and expreſſed the confidence that his maſter had, that his Pruſſian majeſty would comply with the ſtipulations of the treaties between Great Britain and Pruſſia. Frederick, after a ſhort pauſe, replied to the Britiſh ambaſſador, in the following terms: 'His Britannick majeſty cannot render me greater juſtice, than in not doubting of my punctuality to execute the treaties I have concluded with him. My intention is to confirm him in this idea, by faithfully and literally fulfilling all my engagements. Not only ten thouſand men ſhall be ready for the king your maſter, when it happens that he is the firſt attacked; but I will with pleaſure, in ſuch caſe, ſupply him even with thirty thouſand; and, if needful, I will go at their head to defend Great Britain. But the caſe in queſtion is quite different: his moſt Chriſtian majeſty pretends not to be the aggreſſor. He aſſures me that he is not: and, on the contrary, maintains, that he is the offended, and even injured party; and that his Britannick majeſty is the party attacking, having cauſed his troops to march into Alſace, and to make irruptions into that province. I am conſequently, in the firſt place, indiſpenſably bound, to examine ſeriouſly the reaſons on both ſides, to the end that I may not deviate from any of the treaties into which I have entered. In the mean time, his Britannick majeſty may reſt aſſured,

'ed, that I ſhall take no ſtep, which ſhall be 'contrary to the neutrality which I am reſolv-'ed punctually to obſerve, unleſs any power 'of the empire ſhall give me occaſion to change 'my reſolution in this reſpect e.

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

The earl of Hyndford was aſtoniſhed at the king's ſpeech; but, after his ſurprize was ſomewhat abated, he urged a variety of arguments, to ſhew that the French king ought to be conſidered as the firſt and ſole aggreſſor. To theſe arguments Frederick anſwered, 'All 'theſe reaſons from you are excellent; but 'how can you be aſſured, that his moſt Chriſ-'tian majeſty will not allege ſome on his ſide 'that are equally weighty, and that will plain-'ly ſhew his Britannick majeſty to be the ag-'greſſor?' The Britiſh ambaſſador was about to reply, but the king put an end to the audience, by giving his excellency to underſtand, that it was the day of extraordinary diſpatches, and that time preſſed f.

The king of England afterwards wrote to his ambaſſador, and obſerved, that he could not comprehend that the leaſt difficulty ſhould have ariſen about the execution of the treaties, which ſubſiſted between him and his Pruſſian majeſty. 'It was notorious,' he ſaid, 'that the French king ought to be conſidered

e Letter of lord Hyndford to king George II. publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XIV. p. 325, 326.

f Id. ibid.

'as

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

'as the ſole aggreſſor in the preſent war. It 'was a very wicked pretence, that the ſworn 'enemies of the houſe of Auſtria had made 'uſe of, in ſaying, that his Britannick ma-'jeſty ſhould be regarded as the aggreſſor, 'when all the world knew, that immediately 'after the death of the late emperor, and long 'before the Britiſh troops had croſſed the ſea, 'France had formed factions in the empire, 'and ſoon afterwards cauſed her troops to 'march againſt her majeſty of Hungary, and 'to carry fire and ſword with them into the 'Auſtrian dominions, and all this a year and 'a half before the Britiſh forces marched into 'Germany, and which, when they did go thi-'ther, only went as auxiliaries to the queen of 'Hungary. But it was too apparent, that the 'enemies of the houſe of Auſtria had omitted 'nothing, in order to induce other powers to 'act in conformity to their views, and to their 'wicked intentions[g]'. His Britannick majeſty, however, expreſſed his hopes, that the king of Pruſſia would at length be induced to comply with the terms of the treaties, which ſubſiſted between him and Great Britain: but Frederick had other deſigns, and intended to employ his troops in a very different manner. No accommodation had as yet taken place between the emperor and the queen of Hungary, nor had the former been reſtored to his electoral dominions, but continued to reſide at Franckfort, in

[g] Letters of lord Hyndford to king George II. ut ſupra.

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CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

ery indigent and diſtreſſed condition. The ncipal reaſon aſſigned by the court of Vi- ıa, for not coming to terms with the em- or, was, that his imperial majeſty's coun- were under the influence of the court of nce, that his troops, as elector of Bava- were employed in promoting the views that court, and in advancing the ambitious igns that it had formed, of extending French dominions, at the expence of the ces of Germany. However, on the 27th May, 1744, a treaty was concluded at nkfort, between the emperor, the king of ſſia, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of ſſe Caſſel, and the Elector Palatine; by ich they engaged to preſerve the conſtitutions he empire, according to the treaty of Weſt- lia, and to ſupport the emperor in his k and dignity. They agreed to employ ir good offices with the queen of Hungary, ſhe might be induced to acknowledge the peror, to reſtore his hereditary dominions, to give up the archives of the empire t were in her poſſeſſion. They guarantied ach other their reſpective territories; and diſputes about the ſucceſſion of the late peror, they referred to the deciſion of the es of the empire. They promiſed to aſſiſt another in caſe of being attacked; and y invited the king of Poland, the elector of ogne, and the biſhop of Liege, to accede his treaty. A ſeparate agreement was alſo le between the king of Pruſſia and the em-

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

peror, by which the former engaged to put imperial majeſty in poſſeſſion of Bohemia, to guaranty to him Upper Auſtria, as ſoon conquered, on condition that he ſhould give to his Pruſſian majeſty the town and circle Koningſgratz, in its whole extent, with all country ſituated between the frontiers of Sil and the river Elbe, and from the town circle of Koningſgratz to the confines of Sa ny [h]. Frederick alſo entered into a treaty w the court of France, and agreed to act in c cert with the French army; but he was not take up arms, till he ſaw France act with vig againſt Auſtria. Another treaty was like concluded at Worms, between the king Great Britain, the queen of Hungary, the el tor of Saxony, the king of Sardinia, and republic of Holland.

On the 10th of Auguſt, this year, the k of Pruſſia publiſhed a manifeſto at Berlin, which he declared, that 'He thought him 'obliged to inform all Europe, of the reſo 'tion which the preſent conjuncture obli 'him to take, for the public welfare and *tr* '*quillity*. His majeſty, not being able to l 'any longer with indifference upon the troul 'which deſolated Germany, after having tri 'in vain, all ways of bringing about a recon 'liation, found himſelf obliged to make uſ 'the forces, which God had given him, towa 're-eſtabliſhing *peace* and *order*, and for-

[h] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 108.

'ſtor

'ſtoring the laws to their vigour, and the head 'of the empire to his authority.

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

It was alſo obſerved, in the ſame manifeſto, that 'ſince the ſucceſs of the Hungarian troops 'in Bavaria, the queen of Hungary, far from 'proceeding with the equity and moderation 'which became her, had treated the empe-'ror's hereditary countries with inexpreſſible 'hardſhips and cruelty. This princeſs, and 'her allies, had formed deſigns unmeaſurably 'ambitious, the pernicious end of which was, 'to put fetters for ever upon the *German liberty*; 'to effect which had been, for above an age 'paſt, the principal object of the dangerous 'policy of the Houſe of Auſtria. Nothing was 'neceſſary but to examine the facts, which 'had paſſed within the two laſt years, in order 'to judge of the malignity of the intentions of 'the court of Vienna, and to ſee clearly, that, 'in all her proceedings, ſhe had acted in a 'manner entirely contrary to the laws and 'conſtitutions of the empire.—The king had 'no particular diſpute with the queen of Hun-'gary. He had no pretenſion upon her: he '*deſired nothing for himſelf*; and entered no other-'wiſe than in quality of an *auxiliary*, into a quar-'rel which concerned the liberties of the empire 'only, and the open war, which the queen of 'Hungary had lately declared againſt Germany, 'by the hoſtilities which her troops had com-'mitted there, was a ſufficient reaſon, if there

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

'were no others, to juſtify the conduct of his 'majeſty.'

It was farther added that 'If the king 'thought himſelf at preſent obliged, for theſe 'reaſons, to take violent meaſures, it was not 'without regret, nor without having firſt tried 'every method of reconciliation. He made 'ſome ſteps towards obtaining it with the king 'of England, when that prince was encamped at 'Hanau. The emperor too declared, at the 'ſame time, that for the ſake of peace he would 'for ever renounce all the pretenſions which he 'had upon the houſe of Auſtria, upon condition 'of the reſtitution of his hereditary dominions. 'Theſe advantageous, and moſt moderate terms, 'were flatly rejected by the Engliſh miniſtry; 'an evident proof, that the intention of the 'king of England was not to reſtore peace to 'the empire, but rather *to make his own advan-* 'tage of its troubles. The king did afterwards 'offer his mediation, jointly with that of the 'empire, to the maritime powers, in order to 'put an end to this fatal war: but the republic 'of Holland, being ſenſible of the obſtacles 'which ſhe ſhould meet with from the ſtiffneſs 'of the courts of Vienna and London, declined it 'in a pretty categorical manner.—'His majeſty 'thought, that the moſt noble and the moſt 'worthy uſe, which he could make of the 'forces which God had entruſted him with, 'was, to employ them in the ſupport of his 'country, which the queen of Hungary would 'enſlave;

'enſlave; to vindicate the honour and the rights 'of all the electors, which that princeſs would 'forcibly deprive them of; to afford a powerful 'aſſiſtance to the emperor, in order to ſupport him 'in all his rights, and upon that throne, from 'which the queen of Hungary would pull him 'down. In a word, the king demanded no-'thing: the queſtion was not about his perſonal 'intereſt; but his majeſty had recourſe to arms, 'for no other reaſon than that of reſtoring li-'berty to the empire, dignity to the emperor, 'and tranquillity to Europe[i].

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

About the ſame time, Frederick alſo ſent reſcripts to all the courts of Europe; and it was obſervable, that in the reſcript which was tranſmitted to London, he ſeemed to addreſs himſelf not ſo much to the king of England, as to the people of England. It contained the following paſſages: 'Ever ſince my differences with the 'court of Vienna were determined by the treaty 'of Breſlaw, the chief object of my attention 'has conſtantly been, not only carefully to 'cultivate, and, by all imaginable regards, to 'ſtrengthen the good underſtanding which I 'had juſt renewed with her majeſty the queen 'of Hungary, but alſo to revive the ſame be-'tween her and his imperial majeſty; and, by 'a juſt and durable peace, to put a ſtop to the 'troubles, which their diſputes concerning the 'ſucceſſion of the late emperor Charles VI. 'had occaſioned; and of which the beſt pro-

[i] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 70—76.

'vinces

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1944.

'vinces of the contending parties, as we
'ſeveral ſtates of the empire that were n
'had but too ſeverely felt the diſmal c
'quences. I cannot but commend the
'dineſs which I met with in this re
'from his imperial majeſty. This prin
'true father of his country, rather than
'it ſuffer for his intereſt's ſake, had ab
'taken the generous reſolution to ſac
'all his pretenſions to the reſtoration o
'public tranquillity. But the court of V
'ſhewed quite oppoſite diſpoſitions; it l
'ed, with reluctance, to all propoſals to
'an accommodation; and, from all its
'duct, made it very plain, that it would
'cept of no other peace, but what would
'render it the arbiter of all Germany,
'ſubject to it the rights and liberties o
'Germanic body. Its vaſt and dangerou
'ſigns were diſplayed, by degrees, as the
'perity of its arms encreaſed, and ſeeme
'make it ſure of ſucceſs; from that tir
'acted without any circumſpection; it inſu
'in the moſt outrageous manner, both the
'jeſty of the ſupreme head of the empire,
'the rights and prerogatives of the elec
'college. It was in vain I warned that c
'that neither I, nor any other prince of
'empire, that had the preſervation of his c
'try's conſtitution at heart, would ever ſ
'the head of it to be attacked in this man
'and that I could not, at leaſt, diſpenſe
'fulfilling the previous obligations I was

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'under, by the rank I held among the members of the Germanic body, and to which any other obligation and conſideration muſt needs yield. It was too much intoxicated with its vaſt deſigns, to give the leaſt attention to my amicable remonſtrances.' CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

'NEITHER paſſion, nor any perſonal intereſt, nor any view of enlarging my dominions, or of making conqueſts, have the leaſt ſhare in the reſolutions I have taken; my only intention being to diſcharge the duty of a good patriot, and a faithful member of the Germanic body: to maintain the dignity, and prevent the total ruin of its chief; to ſhelter the conſtitution, and liberty of the empire, againſt the impending danger that threatens it: and to reſtore and enſure its tranquillity, by a juſt and durable peace, the ſolidity and durableneſs of which may give a new ſtrength to the ſtaggering liberties of Germany. And I hope that no judicious Engliſhman, nor any Briton that is zealous for his country, can poſſibly miſtake the equity of my reſolution, as he may ſufficiently convince himſelf of it, by barely tranſporting on the theatre of England what now paſſes on that of Germany. As every true Engliſh patriot would look with indignation on all ſuch intrigues as ſhould be carried on in his own country, towards making the now regnant family to deſcend from the throne, in order to eſtabliſh the pretender there, and would oppoſe all ſuch practices

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

'tices with all his power; much more, there
'no patriot, or powerful prince of the empire
'that can ſit with indifference, and coolly ſuffer
'another member of the empire, ſuch as is the
'queen of Hungary, to endeavour to ſpoil of his
'dignity and authority the emperor lawfully
'elected, in order to inveſt with that rank a
'candidate, deſtitute of the qualifications that
'are moſt eſſential to fill the imperial throne,
'and who can never aſcend it, but by the total
'ſubverſion of the imperial conſtitution, and
'of all the liberties, prerogatives, and privi-
'leges of its chief members. As in conſe-
'quence of the ſame principle, no German
'prince has any right to meddle with the inward
'policy of Great Britain, nor with the conſti-
'tution of its government, I have ſome reaſon
'to hope, that the Engliſh nation will neither
'meddle with the domeſtic affairs of the em-
'pire, nor oppoſe the efforts which I, as well
'as the other ſtates well diſpoſed for the em-
'pire, are reſolved to make towards preſerving
'and maintaining the dignity of the head, the
'reverence due to the laws and conſtitution of
'our country, and the rights and preroga-
'tives of its members. And that I enter-
'tain theſe hopes the more, becauſe Eng-
'land has no reaſon to meddle with this
'quarrel, from any conſideration of its
'commerce, or otherwiſe; and that, altho
'it had a greater inclination for one German
'court than for another, I think it too unrea-
'ſonable to pretend, that ſuch powerful and reſpec-
'table

'table princes, as thoſe of the empire are, CHA
'ſhould be obliged to regulate their conduct, VII.
'agreeably to the inclinations of thoſe among A. D.
'the Engliſh, who ſtrive to make their country- 1744.
'men enter into foreign quarrels, that are of no
'manner of concern to England. The reſolu-
'tion that I have taken, has nothing in common
'with the war that England is now engaged in
'with other powers, which I ſhall not meddle
'with to its prejudice. Nor will my preſent
'undertaking make any alteration in the en-
'gagements that I have contracted with Eng-
'land; which I am ſtedfaſtly reſolved to fulfil,
'with all imaginable punctuality, ſo long as
'England will not herſelf cut the ties thereof:
'and I ſhall pay, to the very laſt farthing, the
'debts of Sileſia, which I have taken upon me
'by the treaty of Breſlaw [k].'

NOTWITHSTANDING the plauſible declarations made by the king of Pruſſia, in his public memorials, it is ſufficiently manifeſt, that concern for the emperor, or zeal for the preſervation of the Germanic conſtitution, were not the real motives of his taking up arms. But he ſeems to have been ſomewhat jealous of the progreſs of the Auſtrian arms, under prince Charles of Lorrain, who had not only driven the French out of Bavaria, but had paſſed the Rhine, and penetrated into the French dominions, making himſelf maſter of Haguenau and Saverne, and laying all the country of Lower

[k] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 64—70.

Alſace

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1744.

Alſace under contribution. As the Auſtrian army were, however, employed at ſuch a diſtance, this ſeemed a favourable time for the invaſion of Bohemia; and Frederick alſo probably thought, that, at the preſent criſis, ſome opportunity might ariſe of enlarging his dominions, or at leaſt of extending his military fame. On the part of the court of Vienna, ſeveral memorials, declarations, and reſcripts, were likewiſe publiſhed: but the king of Pruſſia's manifeſtoes were drawn up with ſuch ſuperior art and dexterity, that, as public papers, they had much more effect than thoſe of the queen of Hungary.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Frederick puts himſelf at the head of his troops, and marches into Bohemia.—The extraordinary proclamation publiſhed by him in that country.—Makes himſelf maſter of the city of Prague, and of ſome other towns and fortreſſes.—A ſtop put to the progreſs of his arms by prince Charles of Lorrain.—Frederick is obliged to abandon Prague, and his other conqueſts, and to retreat precipitately into Sileſia, and from thence to Berlin, with great loſs.—Death of the emperor.—The king of Pruſſia returns again to Sileſia, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men.—Battle of Hohen Friedberg, in which Frederick gains a compleat victory over prince Charles of Lorrain.

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.

THE manifeſtoes and reſcripts of the king of Pruſſia were followed, according to his uſual cuſtom, with a very rapid movement of his troops, at the head of eighty thouſand of which, before the cloſe of the month of Auguſt, he paſſed through the electorate of Saxony, and entered the kingdom of Bohemia. In that country he iſſued a proclamation, of which it is impoſſible for an impartial hiſtorian to ſpeak in any other terms, than thoſe of cenſure and of indignation. In this piece it was declared, that the emperor 'being diſpoſſeſſed of 'his dominions, and deprived of all authority,

'the

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.

'the king of Pruſſia could no longer defer doing what his imperial majeſty deſired, and what became him to do, in virtue of his obligations to the emperor and empire, as one of its principal ſtates and electors. In conſequence of this, and from views equally upright, and worthy of his love to his country, his Pruſſian majeſty had granted a part of his forces to the head of the empire, under the title of *auxiliaries*, with a view, as well to reſtore the authority and dignity of the imperial office, abſolutely oppreſſed for the preſent, as to re-eſtabliſh peace and general tranquillity throughout all Germany, our dear country.' The inhabitants of Bohemia are afterwards exhorted 'not to make any reſiſtance, or to oppoſe the leaſt obſtacle againſt the ſaid auxiliary troops, or their undertakings; but to remain quiet, and at peace, in their reſpective dwellings. In which caſe, they might promiſe to themſelves protection and ſecurity; and be aſſured, that they ſhould not only be ſafe from any ſoldiers entering into, or diſturbing them in their eſtates, but alſo, that the ſaid auxiliary troops ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt and moſt rigorous diſcipline; and that whatever they furniſhed them with, towards their ſubſiſtence, or the ſupply of their neceſſities, in any reſpect, ſhould fairly be deducted out of the CONTRIBUTIONS they ought to pay, or OTHERWISE ACCOUNTED FOR to the ſtates and ſubjects of Bohemia. But if, on the other hand, any of the ſaid vaſſals, inha-

'inhabitants or ſubjects of the kingdom of Bo- CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.
'hemia, ſhould be ſo ill adviſed, as to commit
'any acts of hoſtility againſt the ſaid imperial
'auxiliary troops, in any manner, or on any
'pretext whatſoever, fire and ſword would be
'employed, without the leaſt pity, in puniſh-
'ing the guilty. And to take away, before
'hand, all occaſion for the committing ſuch
'hoſtilities, it was by theſe letters patent ſtrict-
'ly enjoined, to all and every one of the
'peaſants and inhabitants of the country of Bo-
'hemia, that whatever arms they ſhould have
'in their poſſeſſion, whether their own, or not,
'they ſhould, without any exception, and
'without the leaſt delay, carry them to
'the lords from whom they held their
'lands, or to the magiſtrates neareſt the
'place of their abode; ſo that the ſaid
'lord or magiſtrate might, as it was expected
'he ſhould, become ſecurity for their good be-
'haviour. And, in conformity to this proclama-
'tion, if, after the publication of it, any inhabi-
'tant of the country, or peaſant, ſhould be found
'with arms, either upon him, or in his cuſtody,
'he ſhould be hanged without farther inquiry,
'and without remiſſion; and the moſt rigorous
'proceedings ſhould be had againſt the lord,
'or magiſtrate of the place, in order to pu-
'niſh any negligence, or connivance in them;
'or, if the circumſtances of the caſe deſerved
'it, the whole village ſhould be pillaged, and
'reduced to aſhes[a].' This arbitrary and ini-

[a] Gentleman's Mag. vol. XIV. p. 499.

quitous

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.

quitous proclamation, which appeared to be dictated only by a ſpirit of military tyranny, and by which every Bohemian peaſant who ſhould keep arms in his own houſe, for the defence of himſelf, his family, or his country, was ſentenced by a foreign prince to be hanged, was dated at Peterſwald, the 25th of Auguſt, 1744.

On the ſecond of September following, Frederick arrived before Prague; and though his artillery was not come, attacked and took ſome advanced poſts. On the ſeventh of the month, general count de Hacke, who commanded the Pruſſian artillery, was unexpectedly attacked by a detachment of Auſtrians, who beat the convoy, and were carrying off the artillery. At this critical period, the king of Pruſſia himſelf came up with the third part of his army, when the Auſtrians were compelled to relinquiſh their important capture. Frederick then cut off all communication between the town and the army under count Bathiani; and, after a ſharp engagement, made himſelf maſter of ſome redoubts and baſtions, which had been erected in the laſt ſiege of Prague by the French. The Pruſſian bombs having deſtroyed almoſt the old and new towns, together with the Jews town, the commandant, at the intreaty of the nobility and clergy, and from want of artillery, was obliged to ſurrender the city to the king of Pruſſia, on the 16th of the month; and the whole garriſon, conſiſting of 14,500 men, were made priſoners of war. Prince Fre-

Frederick William, couſin german to the king, was killed by his ſide. The Pruſſian monarch himſelf commanded at one of the four attacks, which he directed to be made all at once; and, to reward a grenadier, who firſt mounted a baſtion at mareſchal Schwerin's attack, and defended himſelf with his ſword only till his companions came up, he ordered him to be placed at the mareſchal's table in his grenadier's habit, and ennobled him by patent. He alſo promoted him to the rank of a lieutenant, together with twelve other private men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the occaſion [b]. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.

Frederick left a garriſon of ſix thouſand men in Prague, with a large train of Artillery; and the Pruſſian ſoldiers are ſaid to have been ordered to lie in the ſtreets, before the houſes of the burghers, who were forbidden, on pain of death, to ſtir out at night [c]. The king then marched ſouthward up the Moldaw to Tabor, from whence he ſent out detachments under lieutenant-general Naſſau, who, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, took the towns of Budweis and Teyn, together with the ſtrong caſtle of Frauenburg, the garriſon of which were made priſoners of war. A large body of Pruſſian troops was alſo ſent into Moravia, where they are repreſented as having been guilty of great barbarities [d].

[b] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 77, 78. Johnſon's Memoirs of the King of Pruſſia, p. 133, 134. Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 500, 501.

[c] Gent. Mag. and Johnſon, ut ſupra.

[d] Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 621.

But

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.

BUT a ſtop was ſoon put to the progreſs of the Pruſſian arms, by the courage, conduct, and activity, of prince CHARLES of LORRAIN. That able general, on receiving information of the invaſion of Bohemia, by the king of Pruſſia, repaſſed the Rhine in the face of the French army, which was commanded by the mareſchals de Coigni, Noailles, and Belleiſle [x]. He then marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the Auſtrian troops under count Bathiani at Merotitz. It was alſo a circumſtance very diſadvantageous to the king of Pruſſia, that the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, now declared himſelf an auxiliary to the queen of Hungary. The Poliſh monarch had for ſome time paſt conſidered his electoral dominions as very inſecure, near ſo enterpriſing and ambitious a neighbour as the king of Pruſſia; and he had entered into a convention for the mutual

[x] The king of Pruſſia was exceedingly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the French on this occaſion. Accordingly we are told by one writer, that Frederick 'complained 'grievouſly, of an enemy being ſuffered to eſcape to come 'upon him. In fact, prince Charles ſeemed to have wings; 'and though he did not arrive time enough to prevent that 'monarch from taking Prague, on the 15th of September, 'yet he contrived, by his movements and marches, to ob-'lige him to withdraw his garriſon, on the 27th of No-'vember. The king of Pruſſia was, therefore, only maſter 'of this capital for two months; the French had kept it 'thirteen; and prince Charles was twice its deliverer.' Private Life of Lewis XV. vol. II. p. 205.

guarantee

guarantee of Saxony, Bohemia, and Auſtria, with her Hungarian majeſty. He was alſo greatly and juſtly exaſperated at the liberty which Frederick had taken, of marching his troops through his electoral dominions without his permiſſion. He repreſented by his miniſter, that the march of the Pruſſian troops through Saxony, taken by force, was againſt the conſtitution of the empire; and that as the ſame troops might have taken a quite different route, through his Pruſſian majeſty's own dominions, their forcible march through Saxony might properly be conſidered as a violation of territory, and an act of hoſtility. And he now reinforced the army of prince Charles of Lorrain with twenty thouſand Saxon troops, as auxiliaries, under the command of the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, on whom the king of Great Britain ſoon after conferred the order of the garter.

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1744.

By the addition of theſe auxiliaries, and of the troops under Bathiani, the army of prince Charles became ſuperior to that of the king of Pruſſia. Frederick was, therefore, obliged to abandon Prague, and the other places of which he had taken poſſeſſion in Bohemia, and to retreat with precipitation into Sileſia. In his retreat he is ſtated to have loſt above thirty thouſand men, together with moſt of his heavy baggage and artillery, and many waggons laden with proviſions and plunder [e].

[e] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 111.

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

Frederick at length returned to Berlin, extremely mortified with the termination of the campaign; of which he is ſaid to have forbidden all perſons in that city to ſpeak either ill or well [f]. In his "Military Inſtructions for the Generals "of his army," he ſays, 'I do not mean to 'juſtify thoſe generals who have made flagrant 'miſtakes; I will not vindicate my own cam-'paign in 1744; yet, among many faults, the 'ſiege of Prague, my retreat and defence of 'Kolin, and alſo my retreat into Sileſia, were 'tolerably conducted. But there are many un-'fortunate events, which no human ſkill or 'foreſight can poſſibly prevent [g].'

Soon after the return of the king of Pruſſia to his capital, Charles VII. emperor of Germany, died at Munich, on the 20th of January, 1745, in the forty-eighth year of his age [y]. This event

f Johnſon's Memoirs, ut ſupra, p. 136. Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 678.

g King of Pruſſia's Military Inſtructions for his Generals, p. 152.

[y] Voltaire ſays, that the Emperor left 'this leſſon to 'the world, that the ſummit of human grandeur may be the 'pinnacle of calamity.—A complication of painful diſor-'ders rendered his misfortunes more violent by his corporeal 'ſufferings, and they jointly carried him to the grave. He 'was afflicted with the gout and ſtone: his liver, lungs, and 'ſtomach, were found gangrened; alſo ſtones in his kidnies, 'and a polypus in his heart; ſo that it was imagined he 'could not have enjoyed a moment's eaſe for ſome time 'paſt. Few princes had better qualities. They ſerved only 'to heighten his unhappineſs; and this unhappineſs aroſe 'from

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

event made a great change in the ſituation of affairs in the empire. The grand duke of Tuſcany, huſband to the queen of Hungary, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial throne: but his pretenſions were warmly oppoſed by the French king and his allies. The court of Vienna, however, taking advantage of the emperor's death, ſent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of general Bathiani, who defeated the French and Palatine troops at Pfiffenhoven, and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young elector, Maximilian Joſeph, ſon to the late emperor, and who was only ſeventeen years of age, was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augſburgh, where he found himſelf in danger of loſing all his dominions. In this emergency, he yielded to the earneſt ſolicitations of the empreſs his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the elector of Cologn, and of his general, count Seckendorff, who exhorted him

'from his having taken upon himſelf a burthen he was unable to bear. The body of this unfortunate prince was 'expoſed, dreſſed in the antient Spaniſh faſhion; an etiquette eſtabliſhed by Charles V. although ſince him no 'emperor has been a Spaniard, nor had Charles V. any 'connexion with that nation. He was interred according 'to the ceremonies of the empire; and in this parade of 'human vanity and miſery, they carried the globe of the 'world in proceſſion before him, who, during the ſhort 'courſe of his reign, could not keep poſſeſſion even of 'one ſmall unfortunate province.' Age of Lewis XV. ch. 14.

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negociation was immediately entered into at Fueſſen, and ſpeedily concluded. The queen of Hungary conſented to recognize the imperial dignity, as having been veſted in the perſon of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empreſs-dowager; and to reſtore his dominions, with all the fortreſſes, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition, which ſhe had taken. On the other hand, he renounced all claim to the ſucceſſion of her father, became guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction, and engaged to give his vote for the grand duke, at the enſuing election of a king of the Romans, and to diſmiſs the auxiliary troops in his ſervice [h].

In the mean time, the king of Pruſſia did not long remain inactive at Berlin. His troops, at the beginning of the year, under the command of different generals, had obtained ſome conſiderable advantages over the Auſtrians. In February, general Lehwald had defeated a body of twelve thouſand Auſtrians, commanded by general Helfrich; and the ſame month the town of Ratibor, in Sileſia, in which the Auſtrians had poſted three thouſand men, was taken by aſſault. The Pruſſians alſo, under the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, obliged the Hungarians to abandon Trappau, Jagerſdorf, and other places which they had taken, and to retire into Moravia. Frederick himſelf entered Sileſia in May, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men; and

[h] Smollet, ut ſupra, p. 134, 135.

received

received information, that prince Charles of Lorrain, and the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, were alſo about to enter Sileſia, at the head of eighty thouſand, among whom was a body of Saxon auxiliaries. He now, therefore, made no detachments from his army, but abandoned Upper Sileſia to be pillaged by the Hungarians, that he might be able the more effectually to oppoſe the deſigns of prince Charles. It was the intention of that general to penetrate into Sileſia through the narrow paſſes of the mountains near Landſhut; and the deſign of Frederick was, to let the Auſtrians file through the paſſes of thoſe mountains without diſturbance, and then to attack them unexpectedly, and force them to a deciſive action. But, in order to deceive prince Charles, and to lead him to ſuppoſe that he was unwilling to engage, he cauſed the road to be repaired, as if he had intended to march in four columns towards Breſlaw, upon the approach of the Auſtrians[1]. With the ſame view, he alſo abandoned all the poſts and intrenchments of which he was poſſeſſed, in the mountains that ſeparate Sileſia from Bohemia. Prince Charles being thus deceived, and imagining that he might enter Sileſia without moleſtation, prepared to march through the defiles into the plains near Striegau. But on the firſt of June, the king of Pruſſia moved his camp from the neighbourhood of Reichenback,

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

[1] Military Inſtructions of the King of Pruſſia for his Generals, p. 61.

and

CHAP. VII. A. D. 1745.

and pitched it between Striegau and Schweidnitz, having his left covered by that village, and his right by the village of Jauernick, where he eſtabliſhed his head quarters. The van guard, conſiſting of ſeven battalions of grenadiers, ten ſquadrons of dragoons, and two thouſand huſſars, under the command of lieutenant-general du Moulin, and the major-generals Stille and Winterfield, encamped near Striegau, in a line along the highway, with their left wing extended towards the village of Stanowitz. Lieutenant-general Naſſau, with five battalions, ten ſquadrons of Bareith dragoons, and the regiment of Ziethen huſſars, took poſt between the army and the van guard, at the village of Zedlitz, occupying at the ſame time a wood, in order to keep the Auſtrian light troops from approaching the Pruſſian camps, either to interrupt their communication with one another, or to obſerve their motions. The front of the two Pruſſian camps, that is, of the van guard and of the main army, was for the moſt part covered with eminences, on which their advanced guards were poſted: which procured them the double advantage, of not being overlooked by the enemy, and at the ſame time of ſeeing as far as the feet of the mountains, and even through their openings, the ſmalleſt motion that could be made by the Auſtrians. As the eminence in the front of the van guard was the higheſt, and the moſt proper for making obſervations, the king repaired to it two or three times a day,

day, that he might view, with his own eyes, whatever happened [k]. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

ON the ſecond of the month, ſeveral ſeparate bodies of the Auſtrians were ſeen marching along the ridge of the mountains, on the ſide next HOHEN FRIEDBERG; and towards evening, a body of between ſix and ſeven thouſand men encamped near the caſtle of Furſtenſtein, the reſt towards Quolſdorf, and behind Hohen Friedberg, but ſo concealed among the mountains, that the Pruſſians could only perceive part of the Auſtrian tents through the openings. The next morning, they appeared to be in the ſame poſition; but Frederick going, as uſual, to examine every thing himſelf, obſerved that the Auſtrian ſoldiers were then employed in cooking, and from their being engaged in that manner ſo early [z], he ſuſpected that they would deſcend from the mountains that day. He ordered his troops, therefore, to be extremely vigilant, and to acquaint him with the ſmalleſt movement made by the Auſtrians; and every thing was prepared for vigorouſly attacking them when they ſhould come down into the plains.

[k] King of Pruſſia's campaigns, ut ſupra, p. 125, 126.

[z] In his MILITARY INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS GENERALS, Frederick ſays, 'When the Auſtrians are encamped, it is not difficult to diſcover their deſign to march; for it is their general cuſtom to *cook their kettles* on that day particularly. If, therefore, you perceive, at five or eight o'clock in the morning, more ſmoke than ordinary in their camp, you may be pretty certain they intend to move.' P. 72.

IT

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

IT ſoon appeared, that Frederick was right in his conjectures reſpecting the intentions of the Auſtrians. In the afternoon they were ſeen advancing, in large columns of horſe and foot, into the plains of Friedberg and Roſtock. The king, therefore, ordered the main body of his troops to march at eight in the evening to Striegau, and commanded general du Moulin to take poſt, with his ten ſquadrons and ſeven battalions, upon the adjacent hills. Theſe orders were punctually executed; and the Pruſſian troops arrived at midnight at the poſts aſſigned, without noiſe, and without lights[1].

AT two the next morning, which was the fourth of June, 1745, the king aſſembled all the general officers, and ſettled the arrangements for the battle. In leſs than an hour after, the firſt diviſion of the Auſtrian army, which conſiſted partly of Saxon troops, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, began to come out of the defiles into the plains, near HOHEN FRIEDBERG, and had ſcarcely advanced fifty paces, when they ſaw the whole Pruſſian army drawn up in battle array, and advantageouſly poſted with all its artillery. The action was commenced by prince Leopold, of Anhalt Deſſau, who attacked firſt the Saxon infantry in a marſhy wood, with great bravery. The Saxons made vigorous efforts in their own defence, but

[1] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 81. Gent. Mag. vol. XV. 297, 298.

were not able to form, much leſs to extend themſelves, or to break in upon the Pruſſians, on account of the extreme inconveniency of the ground they fought upon, where they were expoſed on every ſide to the fire of the Pruſſian cannon [m]. The duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels charged himſelf, ſeveral times, at the head of the Auſtrian cavalry, but was not able to make any impreſſion upon the Pruſſians. The Saxons then formed a triangle of infantry, in order to make a good retreat; but lieutenant-general Rottenburg, at the head of the prince of Pruſſia's regiment of cuiraſſiers, cut in pieces the regiment of Schonberg. Lieutenant-colonel Juſchinſki, and major Frideville, alſo put two troops of Saxon grenadiers to the ſword. The triangle was then broken, and the Saxons totally defeated [n]. The behaviour of the Pruſſian troops on this occaſion was extremely ſanguinary, they fought with great inveteracy, and gave hardly any quarter to the Saxons. CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

When the main body of the Auſtrians had iſſued from the defiles, and formed themſelves in the plains in the beſt manner they were able, they were attacked with great vigour by the king and the margrave Charles. The Pruſſian infantry repeatedly attacked with their bayonets ſcrewed, and the cavalry often threw themſelves

[m] London Magazine, for the year 1745, p. 311.

[n] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 82, 83. Gent. Mag. ut ſupra, from the account publiſhed at Berlin, by authority.

upon

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

upon the adverſe battalions, though the Auſtrians made a prodigious fire. Ten ſquadrons of Bareith dragoons broke through ſeven regiments of infantry belonging to Thungen's Auſtrian brigade, totally routed them, and took more than two thouſand priſoners, with ſixty-ſix pair of colours, and all their cannon *. M. Thungen, commandant of the brigade, was killed in the action. The fire of the Pruſſian infantry never ceaſed a moment till nine o'clock in the morning, when the action had continued near ſeven hours, and when the whole combined army of Auſtrians and Saxons was entirely defeated, and obliged to retreat through the paſſes of the mountains from which they had iſſued. Their retreat, however, was conducted in an able and ſkilful manner by prince Charles and the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels; though the victory obtained by the Pruſſian monarch was great and indiſputable.

The Auſtrians and Saxons left more than four thouſand men killed and wounded upon the field of battle, and upwards of five thouſand were made priſoners. Among the killed was prince Chriſtian William of Saxe Gotha, who was a major-general, and whoſe body was afterwards interred in the Lutheran church at Striegau. Several other general officers were among the killed and wounded; and of the priſoners more than one hundred and fifty were officers. The trophies taken were ſeven ſtand-

* King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 134.

ards,

ards, ſeventy-ſix pair of colours, and eight pair of kettle drums; together with ſixty-ſix pieces of cannon, and forty ammunition waggons. The loſs of the Pruſſians amounted to ſixteen hundred killed and wounded; and among the former was lieutenant-general count Trouchſes, who was killed by a cannon ball at the beginning of the engagement, and for whoſe death the king expreſſed great concern [A]

THE

[A] Of this general, who ſeems to have been one of Frederick's favourites before his acceſſion, ſome particulars are related by Bielfeld. He ſays of him, 'This gentleman is 'tall, and well made, and commands our eſteem by his 'birth, his figure, his noble air, and by the charms of a 'moſt agreeable converſation.'—'There is ſomething in the 'converſation of count TROUCHSES, which appears to 'me ſo ſprightly, that it too frequently makes that of 'others ſeem dull. It is judiciouſly ſeaſoned with a proper 'quantity of Attic ſalt, and always accompanied with 'the court air.' The count had erected at Berlin a houſe of a very ſingular conſtruction, which Bielfeld deſcribes, but which had coſt the count ſo much money, as in ſome degree to embarraſs his circumſtances.

On the acceſſion of Frederick III. count Trouchſes was ſent as his ambaſſador to George II. king of Great Britain, and Bielfeld accompanied him as ſecretary of legation. As his Britannic majeſty was then at Hanover, count Trouchſes repaired to him at the court of Herrenhauſen. The king and that court, as well as the ambaſſador and his train, were then in mourning for Frederick William. Of their reception the following account is given by Bielfeld: 'We were conducted into an anti-chamber, 'where we found the whole court aſſembled, and in a 'mourning almoſt as deep as our own. Count Trouchſes 'wore a peruke of an immenſe ſize, and a cloak that trailed 'ſome

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

THE conduct of the king of Pruſſia, as a general, both before, and on the day of this memorable action, was entitled to the higheſt commendation. The ſituation of affairs, with regard to his own forces, as well as to thoſe of the enemy, required ſome deciſive action. In order to bring matters to this iſſue, he had very artfully and completely deceived prince Charles with reſpect to his real intentions. He had pretended to be afraid of the ſuperiority of the combined army of Auſtrians

'ſome yards behind him, which gave to his figure of 8 feet 'high, a very ſingular appearance. In about a quarter of an 'hour, lord Hurrington came to introduce us to the audi'ence. The doors of the hall were thrown open, and the 'king of Great Britain appeared in all his glory. He was 'dreſſed in purple, and adorned with his grand order of the 'garter. Count Trouchſes preſented his credentials with a 'good deal of grace, and with an air of dignity; but he 'had not time to make a long harangue; for the king inter'rupted and anſwered him with the greateſt goodneſs; and 'afterwards talked to him with an air of cordiality, that de'lighted every one who beheld him. His majeſty could 'not ſufficiently admire his grave and ſolemn appearance, 'and ſaid to him in a low voice, with a ſmile, "Count Trou"chſes, one would imagine by your appearance, that you "were in deſpair for the loſs of your late maſter." 'We 'were all of us afterwards preſented to his majeſty, who 'ſaid to each of us ſomething gracious and condeſcending.' Count Trouchſes afterwards returned to Berlin; but, at the beginning of the year 1741, went to London as ambaſſador from the Pruſſian monarch to his Britannick majeſty, and was again accompanied by M. Bielfeld. About the middle of that year, the count was recalled from his embaſſy, to join the army in Sileſia.

and

and Saxons: and had cauſed a report to be ſpread, that he ſhould not wait for it in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, but ſhould take a ſure poſt between Breſlaw and Glogau on the river Oder, for the convenience of his convoys. In conformity to theſe affected appearances, he had cauſed the mountains of Upper Sileſia and the country of Glatz to be evacuated, aſſembled all his different corps, and kept himſelf cloſely covered in his camp between Schweidnitz and Striegau, uſing all imaginable precautions to conceal from the enemy his real deſigns, and the number of his troops; being fully perſuaded, that if prince Charles would but come down into the plains, it would be in his power to force him to a battle. The event proved the wiſdom of Frederick's meaſures; in the battle he diſplayed the higheſt military ſkill, and equal bravery; and having now driven his enemies out of Sileſia, he entered the kingdom of Bohemia.

CHAP. VIII. A. D. 1745.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The king of Pruſſia encamps his army in Bohemia —Negociations entered into by him, and repreſen tations made by his miniſters at foreign courts.— The grand duke of Tuſcany elected emperor, an crowned at Frankfort.—Battle of Sohr.—Frede rick returns to Berlin.—Sets out again from the city, and puts himſelf at the head of his troops i Sileſia.—Action at Hennerſdorff.—The kin makes himſelf maſter of Gorlitz.—The Auſtrian retreat before him into Bohemia.—The city of Le ipſic ſurrenders to the prince of Anhalt Deſſau.— Other towns in Saxony taken poſſeſſion of by the prince.—He defeats the Saxons and Auſtrians a Keſſeldorf.—The city of Dreſden ſurrenders the king of Pruſſia.—Peace concluded in that capi tal.—Frederick returns in triumph to Berlin.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

THOUGH the Auſtrians and Saxons under prince Charles of Lorrain and th duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, had been completel defeated at the battle of Hohen Friedberg, ye after they had returned into Bohemia, whe the Auſtrians had reaſſembled their ſcattere troops, and obtained ſome reinforcements they were ſtill poſſeſſed of a very conſiderabl force. They had alſo the advantage of havin the inhabitants of the country entirely i their favour, and extremely hoſtile to the Pru ſian

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

ſians. Frederick ſtrongly encamped his army within leſs than a league of the town of Trautenau; and during his ſtay there nearly exhauſted the neighbouring country of forage and proviſions [a]. In the months of July and Auguſt, there were many ſkirmiſhes between parties of the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, but no action of any conſequence.

At the ſame time that the king of Pruſſia was exciting the utmoſt alarm in Germany, by the activity of his arms, his ambaſſadors were alſo employed in negotiations in the different courts of Europe, and in exhibiting complaints againſt the powers with whom he was in a ſtate of hoſtility. Before the battle of Hohen Friedberg, and the junction of the Saxons with the Auſtrians, he had cauſed his miniſter at the Hague, count Podewills, to make a declaration, That the king his maſter having been informed, that the Saxons were going to join the Auſtrians, in order to invade Sileſia in concert, his majeſty had directed his miniſter at Dreſden to repreſent to count Beſtuchef, envoy from Ruſſia, that in caſe the Saxon troops, ceaſing to be auxiliaries of the queen of Hungary, ſhould commit direct hoſtilities againſt his Pruſſian majeſty, he could look upon that ſtep in no other light, than that of an open rupture; and that, on his ſide, he ſhould commit hoſtilities againſt the Saxons, and ſhould moreover demand of Ruſſia the ſuccours ſtipulated

[a] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 146.

by

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

by treaties. This declaration being communicated to the king of Poland by the Ruſſian miniſter, his Poliſh majeſty anſwered, that he had aſſiſted the queen of Hungary no otherwiſe, than he was obliged to do by former treaties; that he ſhould continue to aſſiſt her in the ſame manner; and that, therefore, he looked upon this as a declaration of war, and ſhould ſend, on his part, to demand of Ruſſia the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties [b]. On the 8th of January, 1745, a treaty of quadruple alliance had been concluded at Warſaw, between his Britannick majeſty, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, the queen of Hungary, and the States-general; by which they guarantied to each other their ſeveral poſſeſſions [B]. But in Auguſt,

[b] London Mag. for the year 1745, p. 207.

[B] By the treaty of Warſaw, the contracting parties engaged to concert the moſt effectual meaſures for reſtoring the peace of Europe, particularly of the empire, and to aſſiſt one another in preſerving all ſuch dominions as they were reſpectively poſſeſſed of, or to which they had a right. His Poliſh majeſty, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, and promiſed to ſupport it with all his forces. If the kingdom of Bohemia ſhould be actually attacked, his Poliſh majeſty was immediately to act with an army of thirty thouſand auxiliary troops for its defence. As ſoon as Bohemia and Saxony ſhould be out of danger, his Poliſh majeſty was to march ten thouſand men into the Netherlands, or any other place within the empire, that the king of Great Britain and the States-general ſhould think proper, for which ſubſidies were to be paid to his Poliſh majeſty, by the king of Great Britain and the States-general. In caſe the king of Poland ſhould,

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

uguſt, the ſame year, the king of Great Bri- in, was extremely anxious for the ſecurity f his electoral dominions, ſigned a convention ith the king of Pruſſia, and became guaran- e of his Pruſſian majeſty's poſſeſſions, as yield- d by the treaty of Breſlaw. Frederick after- ards repreſented to the States-general, by M. mmon, then his reſident at the Hague, that e courts of Vienna and Dreſden had em- loyed all ſorts of means to raiſe up enemies gainſt him; that though he had made no at- mpt upon the electoral dominions of his Po- ſh majeſty, as he had a right to do, and might ave ſucceſsfully done, the king of Poland had evertheleſs called for ſuccours from the em- reſs of Ruſſia, for the defence of his unat- cked dominions, and though he was ſure they ould not be attacked. It appeared, it was dded, that theſe ſuccours were rather deſtined o act offenſively againſt the king of Pruſſia, han for a ſimple defence; and therefore, that is Pruſſian majeſty could not diſpenſe with imſelf from demanding of their high mighti- neſſes thoſe ſuccours which were ſtipulated by reaty. The Pruſſian miniſter ſaid farther, that he king his maſter expected from their high nightineſſes juſtice and equity, and fidelity in he performance of their engagements; and that

hould, in conſequence of theſe meaſures, draw upon himſelf war, he was to be ſupported therein by his allies; and no eace was to be made without his conſent, or without obtain- ng for him proper ſatisfaction. *Gent. Mag.* vol. XV. p. 167.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

they would not delay granting him the ſuccours he required, nor omit repreſenting to the Ruſſian court the obligations they were under to aſſiſt the king of Pruſſia, and the miſchiefs and inconveniences that might ariſe from the empreſs's aſſiſting the court of Dreſden [c].

On the ſecond of September, 1745, the grand duke of Tuſcany was elected king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany. The king of Pruſſia, by his ambaſſadors, declared the election to be void. The elector palatine, whoſe countries had been ravaged by the Auſtrian armies, entered a proteſt to the ſame purport. The electoral ambaſſadors of theſe two princes retired from Franckfort; but this was not ſufficient to invalidate the election, becauſe it was ſettled by the golden bull, "That "if the electors, or their ambaſſadors, ſhould "retire from the place of election, before the "king of the Romans, the future emperor "was elected, they ſhould be deprived of their "right of ſuffrage for that time, as being judg"ed to have abandoned it." Before the end of the month, the new emperor was crowned at Franckfort; and Voltaire obſerves, that the queen of Hungary, now empreſs, came to that city 'to enjoy her triumph, the coronation of 'her huſband. She ſaw, from a balcony, the 'ceremony of the entry, and was the firſt that 'cried out, LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR! and all 'the people anſwered with acclamations of joy

[c] London Mag. for the year 1745, p. 553.

'and

and affection. This was the happieſt day of her life. She afterwards went to ſee her army, ranged in order of battle near Heidelberg, to the number of ſixty thouſand men. The emperor, her ſpouſe, received her ſword in hand, at the head of the army. She paſſed between the lines, ſaluted every body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin to be diſtributed to every ſoldier [d].

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

In the ſame month, in which the coronation of the emperor took place, another battle was fought between the king of Pruſſia and prince Charles of Lorrain. On the twenty-ninth of September, the Auſtrian army made a forced march, in order to ſurprize and attack Frederick, in his camp near the village of Sohr, in the neighbourhood of Trautenau. Prince Charles was the rather induced to make this attempt, becauſe his army was now much ſuperior in number to that of the king of Pruſſia. Frederick had received ſome intimation of the prince's deſign, and was, therefore, about to change the poſition of his camp. Orders were given for that purpoſe on the morning of the thirtieth, and the army was to decamp at ten o'clock. The generals of the day, who attended to receive theſe orders, were but juſt gone out of the king's tent to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions, when the advanced guards of the right wing ſent notice, that they perceived a large body of cavalry, and ſome infantry on the hills

[d] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 17.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745

of Deutſch Prauſnitz. This news was ſoon confirmed; and it was added, that the whole Auſtrian army was advancing in ſeveral columns [e].

As Frederick now no longer doubted of the approach of the Auſtrians, he ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound to arms. The right wing of the cavalry, and particularly the Pruſſian gens d'arms, were the firſt ready to march out of the camp, though the enemy endeavoured to hinder them by their artillery, the ſhot of which reached the Pruſſian camp. The Pruſſian cavalry were, indeed, compelled to make haſte, by a furious fire of great guns and haubitzers. When they were on horſeback, they marched to the right, and were followed by the infantry, forming a kind of ſemicircle, the convex ſide of which was towards the enemy, that they might not expoſe their flank. Having then taken poſſeſſion of the ground moſt proper for the attack, their cavalry formed; and though the ground was narrow and uneven, and the eminence, on which the Auſtrian army ſtood, very ſteep, yet fifteen Pruſſian ſquadrons, under the command of the major-generals Goltz and Katzlar, advanced, received the whole fire of the artillery, and ruſhed in full career upon the ſquadrons of the enemy, of which there were fifty-five in this wing, drawn up in three lines. Notwithſtanding the inferiority in number of the Pruſſian cavalry, they fell ſo furiouſly upon the firſt line

[e] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 147, 148.

of

of the Auſtrian horſe, that they overthrew them at the firſt onſet, and purſued them with ſo much vigour, as to put the ſecond and third line into the ſame confuſion, and at length completely routed them[f]. CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

AMONG other great exertions of Pruſſian valour, three battalions of grenadiers had the intrepidity to attack the Auſtrian park of artillery, though guarded by fifteen companies of grenadiers, ſupported by the Saxon infantry. The Pruſſians loſt many men in this attack, and were twice repulſed; but being ſeaſonably reinforced by the regiments of La Motte and Blanckenſee infantry, they made themſelves maſters of the Auſtrian park of artillery, at the third attack, and alſo took their firſt line in flank. After this the whole Auſtrian left wing was driven off the eminence, and the front of the two armies inſenſibly engaged. The center and left wing of the Pruſſians, of which Frederick had hitherto made no uſe, that he might be ſure of a reſource, in caſe his right wing ſhould be repulſed, advanced gradually through the neighbourhood of Burckerſdorff; but found every where an obſtinate enemy, reſolved to diſpute every inch of ground. As the Auſtrians had the advantage of the ground, and alſo in the number of men, the Pruſſians at every eminence, and every little wood, found freſh troops to encounter, who had not been engaged before, and whoſe fire was

[f] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 149, 150.

always

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

Trautenau, from whence he removed on the ſixteenth of October, and having paſſed with his army through the defiles of Schatzlar, encamped the ſame day between that town and Liebau. He ſtaid there only till the nineteenth of the month, when all the army, excepting a large detachment under the command of lieutenant-general du Moulin, ſtruck their tents, and went into quarters of cantonment, the cavalry on the plains of Schweidnitz and Striegau, and the infantry at the foot of the mountains [h]. Having regulated the winter quarters of the troops, the king ſet out for Berlin, leaving the command of the army to field-mareſchal prince Leopold.

When Frederick arrived at Berlin, he was attended by his body guards, who entered the city in a kind of triumph. They had in their train the cannon which had been taken from the enemy in the laſt campaign, and the ſtandards and colours that were taken in the battles of Hohen Friedberg and Sohr. Theſe trophies were afterwards conveyed, in ſolemn proceſſion, to the church erected for the military by Frederick William. M. Bielfeld had, in the courſe of the year, been appointed preceptor to prince Ferdinand, the king's youngeſt brother; and on this occaſion he ſtood with the prince in a balcony, over the gate of the palace, in order to ſee the military proceſſion to the church. M. Borck, one of the king's miniſters, ſtood in

[h] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 166.

the

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

he ſame balcony for the ſame purpoſe; and, hile the proceſſion was paſſing, clapped Biel- ld on the ſhoulder, and ſaid to him in a low oice; "Ah! my dear friend, PEACE were better than all this [i]." The Pruſſian miniſter new, that at that time there was no immediate roſpect of a peace; and, perhaps, might be of pinion, that the new acquiſitions of the king, nd his military renown, and military trophies, ere not a ſufficient compenſation to his old ubjects, for the burthens, the dangers, and the alamities of war. Frederick himſelf, but a ort time before, ſeems to have adopted ſimi- r ſentiments. For, in his ANTI-MACHIAVEL, e obſerves, that "the new conqueſts of a ſo- vereign do not render the dominions that he poſſeſſed before more opulent or more proſ- perous; his former ſubjects are not benefited by them; and he deceives himſelf if he ima- gines, that he ſhall thereby become more happy [k]."

SOON after Frederick returned to Berlin, he eceived information from prince Leopold of nhalt Deſſau, that prince Charles of Lorrain as not putting his army into winter quarters, s he had taken ſome pains to make the Pruſ- ians believe, but that a body of ten thouſand uſtrians, under the command of general count le Grunn, was marching towards Saxony; and hat other large detachments from the Auſtrian

[i] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 230, 231.
[k] Anti-Machiavel, edit. Lond. 1741, p. 12.

army

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

army were marching in different directions and in ſuch a manner as to give juſt ground of alarm to the Pruſſians. The king alſo received ſome farther information reſpecting the deſigns of the Auſtrians, and gave out at Berlin, that he 'had diſcovered a plan of operation, concerted 'by his enemies, by which they intended to 'attack him in the winter, in five different 'places at the ſame time; and, if it were poſſi'ble, totally to overthrow him. The moſt con'ſiderable of theſe five armies was to enter the 'king's dominions by the way of Croſſen, and 'to cut off his communication with Sileſia; 'the ſecond was to enter Upper Sileſia; and 'the third into Lower Luſatia; a fourth was 'to march through Leipſic, and to fall upon 'Halle and Magdeburgh; and laſtly, the fifth, 'conſiſting of about twenty thouſand men, were 'to march to Berlin, and poſſeſs themſelves of 'that capital; and by theſe means they were 'to give a mortal blow to the king's power.'[1]

WHETHER any ſuch deſigns were really formed by the Auſtrians and Saxons, as were attributed to them by the king of Pruſſia, may reaſonably be queſtioned; as they ſeem not to have aſſembled, in the neighbourhood of the Pruſſian dominions, any bodies of troops ſufficiently numerous for the execution of ſchemes of ſuch magnitude. It appears alſo to have been a part of the policy of Frederick,

[1] Lettres familieres de M. le Baron de Bielfeld, tom. I. p. 198, edit. La Haye, 1763.

to

endeavour to intereſt his ſubjects the more in his behalf, and make them enter more heartily into his enterprizes, by propagating reports of dangerous ſchemes pretended to be formed by his enemies againſt him and his dominions. Perhaps little more might be intended by the Auſtrians, than to furniſh a body of troops to aſſiſt in the defence of Saxony, in caſe it ſhould be attacked by the king of Pruſſia, which there was much reaſon to apprehend, from a manifeſto which he had ſome time before publiſhed[m], in which he had declared, that his troops were about to act in a hoſtile manner againſt that electorate. CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

When the Auſtrian troops began to be in motion, prince Leopold drew the Pruſſian troops in Sileſia out of their cantonments, and ſtationed them in ſuch a manner as would enable them to watch the progreſs of the Auſtrians. The king alſo directed the reigning prince of Anhalt Deſſau, who was with him at Berlin, to ſet out from that capital, and to aſſemble a large body of Pruſſian troops, in the neighbourhood of Halle, in Saxony. Frederick himſelf alſo prepared to quit his capital, in order to put himſelf at the head of his army in Sileſia.

The night before the king left Berlin, he ſupped with the reigning queen, the queen dowager, the reſt of the royal family, count Podewills, and the lady of his high ſteward.

[m] Gent. Mag. vol. XV. p. 413, 414, 415.

After

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

After ſupper, he took leave of the queens, of the princes and princeſſes; and as he going out of the hall in which they had ſupp he ſaw count Podewills ſtanding near the d who offered to kiſs his hand, but Freder embraced him, and ſaid, "Adieu, my d "count, take good care of yourſelf, and "any misfortune ſhould befall me, remem "that you have loſt a ſincere friend[n]." then went to bed for a few hours, and ſet early the next morning, which was the 16th November[o]. Bielfeld, who was preſent at departure, ſays, "Never did I ſee him m "gay, with a more pleaſing countenance, "higher ſpirits, than at that moment. "of pleaſantry, he ſeated himſelf in the co "with his brother, the prince royal, and ge "ral Rothenburg; and, attended by our m "ardent wiſhes, ſet off full gallop[p].

AFTER the king of Pruſſia had arrived in leſia, and taken upon him the command of army there, he called in ſome detachmer and aſſembled his troops near Naumbourg the Queiſs, on the twenty-third of the mon His army then amounted to about thirty-f thouſand men. With theſe he paſſed the ſm river Queiſs the ſame day, the cavalry by fords, the infantry on bridges, and ſo ente Saxony. While the Pruſſians were paſſing

[n] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 236, 237.
[o] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 169.
[p] Letters, ut ſupra, p. 239.

riv

river, the light troops on their right had a ſkirmiſh with a body of Uhlans, who quickly retired; but the huſſars of Ziethen and Rueſch, who had paſſed the river on the left, found in the village of HENNERSDORFF three regiments of Saxon horſe, and a regiment of infantry, who were cantoned there without much precaution. The Pruſſians, therefore, eaſily put to flight the weak piquets of the Saxons, and entered at one end of the village, taking ſome priſoners, and much booty. But the love of plunder amuſed the huſſars too long, and gave the Saxons time to form at the other end of the village, which was of conſiderable length. The Saxons accordingly ſtood their ground there, and would probably have retired in good order, and with little loſs, if Frederick himſelf had not inſtantly detached ten ſquadrons of cuiraſſiers, and two battalions of grenadiers to ſupport the huſſars [9]. A ſmart action then took place, in which the Saxons were totally defeated, great numbers of them killed, and near a thouſand taken priſoners, among whom was a major-general, and twenty-ſeven other officers. The Pruſſians alſo took ſome cannon, ſtandards, colours, kettle-drums, and a large quantity of ammunition; and in the evening encamped near HENNERSDORFF.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

THE following day the Pruſſian army marched, through a thick fog, to Trotſchendorf and Lichtenberg. They found, upon the road, a great

[9] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 170.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

great number of covered waggons, belonging to the Auſtrians and Saxons, broken to pieces, and the ammunition ſcattered on the ground. The Pruſſians were alſo informed by the country people, that the army of the enemy was re-aſſembled at GORLITZ, with a deſign to give them battle there. The van-guard of the Pruſſian army, conſiſting of all the huſſars, and ſome battalions of grenadiers, advanced to that place on the night of the twenty-fourth, and was followed on the twenty-fifth by the cavalry of the right wing, and afterwards by the whole army. They ſummoned the town, and it ſurrendered with its garriſon. They found there plenty of forage and proviſions, and encamped that day in the neighbourhood. But the army of the enemy, inſtead of waiting for them, made haſte to get to the little river of Neiſs, with a view to ſhelter themſelves behind it. The king of Pruſſia, not thinking it proper to let them recover from their ſurprize, cauſed his troops to continue their march on the twenty-ſixth. In his way he took ſome ſmall magazines, and upon his arrival on the banks of the Neiſs, found that the Auſtrian general had decamped by ſtealth, and taken the road to Zittau. Frederick immediately detached a ſtrong vanguard, conſiſting of dragoons, grenadiers, and huſſars, under the command of lieutenant-general Bonin, and the major-generals Winterfeld and Kleiſt, in order to bring the enemy to a battle, if poſſible, or elſe to harraſs him in his retreat. The Pruſſian detachment

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

detachment came up with the Auſtrian army in the evening, after it had proceeded beyond Hittau, and taken poſt on an eminence, near the road to Gabel. As the Auſtrians were much ſuperior in numbers, and poſted to advantage, the Pruſſians ſatisfied themſelves with puſhing their light troops near them, and taking poſſeſſion, in their ſight, of the town and its ſuburbs, that they might defend themſelves there the next day, in caſe of an attack, and give the king time to come up with his whole army. But the Auſtrians decamped at two in the morning, and retreated to Bohemia, through the defiles of Gabel[r]. The Pruſſians did not know that the Auſtrians were decamped till day-break, when they iſſued out of the town to retard them in their march; but as the Auſtrians had made great haſte, and had adopted the uſual precautions on ſuch occaſions, by putting the beſt men they had in their rear-guard, the Pruſſians were obliged to content themſelves with ſome priſoners and plunder. The Auſtrians left behind them fifteen hundred waggons; though theſe are ſaid to have been chiefly plundered by the Saxon and Bohemian peaſants in the neighbourhood[s].

WHILE the Auſtrians were thus retreating before the king of Pruſſia into Bohemia, the city of Berlin was exceedingly alarmed with reports of the approach of count Grunn to that capital,

[r] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 172, 173.
[s] Ibid. p. 174.

at

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

at the head of a large Auſtrian army; but the count made no attempt upon the city, his troops were not numerous, and the apprehenſions of the inhabitants of Berlin were much greater than their danger. In the mean time, the prince of Anhalt Deſſau had made a great progreſs in Saxony. He had marched from Halle, and attacked the city of LEIPSIC, which was defended by lieutenant-general count de Renard; but as the troops under his command were not proportioned to the extent of the city, he thought proper to abandon it, in order to ſave his men, and retreated by the village of Schoenfeld, with a view to get the moraſs between him and the Pruſſian army. But, during the night, he entirely left the neighbourhood of Leipſic, and marched to join count Rutowſki, who was encamped under the cannon of Dreſden. The prince of Anhalt now ſummoned the city to ſurrender, which it accordingly did by capitulation; and the prince took poſſeſſion of it with four battalions of grenadiers. He alſo ſent a detachment of grenadiers, who made themſelves maſters, on the fifth of December, of the town of TORGAU, where there was a fine magazine. The prince himſelf afterwards proceeded to that place, by the acquiſition of which he ſecured a communication with the army of the king, from whom he received directions to move towards MEISSEN. On the twelfth of December, early in the morning, the prince detached general count de Geſler, with three hundred huſſars, ſeven

ſqua-

quadrons of cavalry, and four battalions of grenadiers, to attack that place. General Geſler found the town in the poſſeſſion of major-general Alembick, with ſeveral companies of grenadiers; who being ſummoned to ſurrender, Alembick returned for anſwer, that he would send to Dreſden, to aſk advice there of the council of war. The prince arriving in the mean time, at the head of his army, refuſed to admit of any delay; whereupon Alembick evacuated the place ſilently, and retired with his men to Dreſden. The prince then took poſſeſſion of Meiſſen, and was ſoon after joined by another body of Pruſſian troops, under the command of general Lehwald [t]. CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

On the fourteenth of the month, the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt reſumed its march, in four columns, and took poſt near the little village of Roehrſdorf, in order of battle. The following day, the troops continued their march; and the vanguard, conſiſting entirely of huſſars, began to ſkirmiſh, near the ſmall town of Wilſdrouff, with ſome light cavalry, who were commanded by lieutenant-general Sybilifki. After the Pruſſians had marched about half an hour, they ſaw the army of the enemy in order of battle, on the eminences of Bennerick and Keſſeldorff; the right wing being before Bennerick, and the left behind Keſſeldorff, which count Rotowſki had lined with ſeven or eight battalions of Auſtrian and Saxon

[t] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 178, 180.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

grenadiers, and a great number of cannon. All the firſt line, and the greateſt part of the ſecond, from the left wing to the center, conſiſted of infantry; the remainder of the ſecond line, and the whole of the third, was cavalry. The batteries of the front and flanks of Keſſeldorff were ſupported on the right by twelve ſquadrons of dragoons, and on the left by Sybiliſki's corps, and ſome companies of grenadiers, poſted in the hollow ways. The left wing began behind that village, extending towards that of Zoelmen, and was covered by a large battery: the center behind Zoelmen had before its front a moraſs and two batteries. The right, before the village of Bennerick, was fortified with a battery and the little village of Ztſchon, which rendered any approach to it extremely difficult. Higher on the right, between the villages of Ockerwitz and Brizewitz, was poſted the body under the command of the count de Grunn, excepting two regiments of horſe, which made the right wing of the ſecond line of the Saxons [a].

THE prince of Anhalt, having examined the poſition of the enemy's army, determined to make his attack on the left, thinking himſelf certain of victory, if he could make himſelf maſter of the poſt at KESSELDORFF, and thereby get at the enemy's flank. Accordingly he drew up his army in ſuch a manner as he thought would beſt effectuate his purpoſe, and it being

[a] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 181, 182.

then

then about two in the afternoon, and the ſhortneſs of the day not allowing time for unneceſſary arrangements, the prince haſtened to attack the village with three battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hertzberg, followed by three battalions of the regiment of Anhalt and ſupported by five ſquadrons of Bonin's regiment of dragoons, and five ſquadrons of Stille's cuiraſſiers. They marched up with great intrepidity; but the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, well ſerved, and that of ſeven battalions of grenadiers, with which the village was lined, made ſuch havock, that they were forced to move a little to the right, that the whole body might not be ſacrificed at once. They reſumed, however, the ſame attack, but were ſtill unſucceſsful; which emboldened the enemy's grenadiers to ſally out, that they might attack the aſſailants with ſtill more effect. But this ſally proved highly detrimental to the Auſtrians and Saxons, and extremely beneficial to the Pruſſians. For the prince of Anhalt having ordered Bonin's dragoons to attack the grenadiers of the enemy at full ſpeed, they ſoon routed them, entered with them into the village, and made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter. In the mean time, ſome of the Pruſſian battalions made themſelves maſters of the batteries, and of that whole poſt; and Stille's regiment of cuiraſſiers, leaving KESSELDORFF on the right, drove out all the horſe and foot that were in the defiles, and on the eminences, and got to the flank of their army.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

THE whole front of the Pruſſian army now advanced, and the battle became nearly general. The right wing of the Pruſſian infantry got between the village and its neighbourhood, puſhed thoſe regiments of the Auſtrians and Saxons that were before it, and threw the whole of their two lines into confuſion; and this was done the more effectually, becauſe the right wing of the Pruſſian cavalry had not only gained the enemy's flank, but alſo got upon their rear, having met with little reſiſtance from moſt of their ſquadrons, which at the firſt charge gave way. From the left wing of the Pruſſians ſome battalions were detached, which took poſt near Zoelmen, and maintained it, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground, and a terrible fire from the Saxon artillery upon their flanks. Soon after the whole line of the Pruſſians advanced acroſs the moraſſes between KESSELDORFF, Zoelmen, and Bennerick, attacked the enemy's center and right wing, and put them to flight without much reſiſtance, their left wing being before entirely routed. Fifty ſquadrons which yet remained on the eminences behind Zoelmen, were driven from their poſts by ſome Pruſſian battalions, as were alſo the troops under the command of the count de Grunn; and the prince of Anhalt had now obtained a compleat victory [x].

VOLTAIRE, ſpeaking of this action, ſays, 'It 'was the famous old PRINCE OF ANHALT who

[x] King of Pruſſia's Campaigns, p. 183, 184, 185.

'gained

'gained this deciſive victory. He had been a warrior fifty years, and was the firſt that entered into the lines of the French army at Turin in 1707. For conducting the infantry he was eſteemed the moſt experienced officer in Europe. This great battle was the laſt that filled up the meaſure of his military glory; the only glory which he had enjoyed, for fighting was his only province[y].' In the battle of KESSELDORFF, great numbers of the Auſtrians and Saxons were killed and wounded, and four thouſand were made priſoners. Among the priſoners were four generals, and a great number of other officers; and the Pruſſians alſo made themſelves maſters of all the Auſtrian and Saxon artillery.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

THE king of Pruſſia himſelf, with the troops with which he had driven the Auſtrians into Bohemia, arrived in the neighbourhood of Keſſeldorff, two days after the victory obtained there by the prince of Anhalt. He immediately proceeded to DRESDEN, and ſummoned that city to ſurrender. Before his arrival, the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had withdrawn from his capital, and retired to Prague. Dreſden ſurrendered, by capitulation, on the eighteenth of December; and the king of Pruſſia 'entered it,' ſays Voltaire, 'followed by ten battalions and ten ſquadrons. He diſarmed three regiments of the militia which compoſed the garriſon; went to the palace, where

[y] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 17.

'he

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

'he viſited the two princes, and the three princeſſes, the children of the king of Poland, 'who reſided in it; he embraced them, and 'ſhewed them all the marks of tenderneſs and 'regard, which might be expected from the 'moſt polite man of his age. He ordered the 'ſhops and warehouſes, which had been ſhut 'up, to be opened; gave a dinner to all the 'foreign miniſters; and had an Italian opera 'played. In ſhort, it was ſcarcely perceptible 'that the town was in the power of the conqueror; and the ſurrender of Dreſden was 'ſignalized only by the entertainments that this 'monarch gave there [z].

THE politeneſs of the king of Pruſſia did not, however, prevent him from levying very heavy contributions on the inhabitants of Saxony. And the king of Poland, who had thought it neceſſary to withdraw from the capital of his electorate, and who was weakly ſupported by his allies, was now induced to enter into a negociation with Frederick. Mr. Villiers, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Dreſden, was employed in the negociation, and a treaty of peace was concluded in a few days, under the mediation of his Britannick majeſty. The court of Vienna, which had carried on the war againſt the king of Pruſſia, for ſome time paſt, with little ſucceſs, agreed alſo to be comprehended in the treaty. In ſome letters which paſſed, during the courſe of the negociation, between the king of

[z] Age of Lewis XV. ut ſupra.

Pruſſia

Pruſſia and Mr. Villiers, Frederick profeſſed great eſteem for the Britiſh miniſter, and declared, in very ſtrong terms, his own deſire of peace, if the king of Poland would agree to a reaſonable accommodation. He ſeemed hurt, that his Poliſh majeſty ſhould have quitted his capital; which was, he ſaid, in his opinion, offering him an affront. He had always, he obſerved, eſteemed his Poliſh majeſty perſonally; and, amidſt the greateſt ravages of war, reſpect would have been had to his character and family. But as an inducement to the king of Poland to comply with his terms, Frederick remarked, that "without hate, or private animoſity, all "the world muſt agree, that eighty thouſand "men, in ſuch a country as Saxony, could not "fail of ruining it in courſe of time[a]." CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

By the treaty of Dresden, which was concluded on the twenty-fifth of December, 1745, it was ſtipulated, that all the contributions levied by his Pruſſian majeſty, in the electorate of Saxony, to the twenty-ſecond of December, incluſive, ſhould be retained to his proper uſe; and that his Poliſh majeſty ſhould alſo, at the Eaſter fair at Leipſic, pay to the king of Pruſſia one million of German crowns, with intereſt, at the rate of five *per cent.* to be computed from the day of ſigning the treaty. The ſubjects of his Pruſſian majeſty, who were intereſted in the Saxon funds, were to be exactly paid.

[a] Letters of the King of Pruſſia to Mr. Villiers, publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XVI. p. 142, 143, 144.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

paid. The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, was not to make any innovations to the prejudice of the Proteſtant religion, in that electorate. The Saxons who had enliſted in the Pruſſian ſervice, from the time that the Pruſſians entered Saxony, were to continue in that ſervice. The queen of Hungary ceded Sileſia to the king of Pruſſia, in the ſame manner that it had been ceded by the treaty of Breſlaw, in which the king of Poland concurred, and which was guarantied by the king of Great Britain. The elector palatine was comprehended in this treaty, and both he, and the king of Pruſſia, agreed to acknowledge the grand duke of Tuſcany as emperor of Germany; and his imperial majeſty confirmed, in favour of the king of Pruſſia, certain privileges *de non evocando*, conceded to his Pruſſian majeſty by the late emperor Charles VII. which related to ſome territories poſſeſſed by the king of Pruſſia, not appertaining to the electorate of Brandenburgh. This treaty was ſigned by the Saxon miniſter, by count Podewills, cabinet miniſter to the king of Pruſſia, by count Kaunitz, the imperial miniſter, and by Mr. Villiers, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Dreſden.

COUNT Algarotti informs us, that after the battle of Keſſeldorff, the prince of Anhalt promiſed the pillage of Dreſden to his ſoldiers, as a recompence for their behaviour in that action: but the king would not ſuffer the city to be plundered [b].

[b] Letters military and political, p. 111.

It

It is alſo ſaid, that the moſt exact diſcipline was obſerved by the Pruſſian troops, during their ſtay at Dreſden; and it is mentioned as an inſtance of the king's moderation, that he would not even ſuffer his brother, Auguſtus William, to gratify his curioſity, by ſeeing the rarities depoſited in the Green Vault, leſt any accident ſhould happen to them [c]. What is called the Green Vault conſiſts, according to baron Pollnitz, of three arched rooms, painted green, and which, he ſays, is "one of the fineſt places in the "world, and contains immenſe riches, ſhining "all over with gold, precious ſtones, and dia-"monds." Theſe rooms certainly contain a prodigious number of natural and artificial curioſities. CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

After the peace of Dreſden was concluded, the Pruſſian troops evacuated Saxony, and Frederick returned immediately to Berlin, where he was received by his ſubjects with loud acclamations. On the day that he entered the city, he was met about ſix miles from it, by great numbers of citizens of Berlin, and others, on horſeback, marſhalled in companies, who attended him to his palace. The king ſat in an open phaëton, and was accompanied by his two brothers, the prince of Pruſſia, and prince Henry [d]. The number of ſpectators who ſurrounded the carriage was ſo great, that the horſes could advance only ſtep by ſtep;

[c] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 89, 90.
[d] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 5.

and

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

and the ſolemnity of their pace added to the dignity of this triumphant entry. Great numbers of coaches, filled with nobility and gentry who came to meet the king, had now joined the proceſſion. The air reſounded with the acclamations of the people, who cried out, "Long "live the king; long live FREDERICK THE "GREAT." Frederick ſaluted the ſpectators on the right and on the left, and ſaid to thoſe who eagerly crowded to ſee him, "Do not preſs "each other, my children. Take care of your-"ſelves, that the horſes may not trample upon "you, and that no accident may happen." In his whole behaviour on this occaſion, the king exhibited the utmoſt mildneſs, gentleneſs, and affability; and ſeemed to be under the influence of the greateſt affection for his people. When he arrived at the palace, the crowd renewed their acclamations; and the citizens, who had been formed into companies to meet him at a diſtance from the city, drew up with drums beating, and colours flying, under the palace windows.

AT ſix o'clock in the evening, the whole city was illuminated. Frederick then went into his coach, attended by the prince of Pruſſia and prince Henry, and was followed by prince Ferdinand, in order to make the circuit of the city. But the king had now received information, that M. DUHAN, who had been one of his preceptors, lay at the point of death. And, notwithſtanding the general joy and exultation, Frede-

rick

ck quitted the pomp of the court, and the CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.
iumph of the city, that he might perform the
ſt offices of humanity to his old preceptor.
e ordered his carriage to be driven to the houſe
M. Duhan, which was ſituated in a kind of
ourt, the houſes of which were ſo crowded
ith lamps, in conſequence of the general illu-
ination, that when the king and his brothers
ntered the ſick man's chamber, it was found
eceſſary, on account of the heat, though in the
epth of winter, to open the windows. "It
was an affecting ſight," ſays Bielfeld, "to ſee
a dying man, in the midſt of a brilliant illu-
mination, ſurrounded by princes, and viſited
by a triumphant monarch, who, in the midſt
of the inceſſant clamour of exultation, ſought
only to alleviate the ſick man's pangs, partici-
pating of his diſtreſs, and reflecting upon the
vanity of all human grandeur." When the
ng had taken a tender adieu of M. Duhan,
ho ſurvived only till the next day, he went
ain into his coach, rode round the city, and
turned to the palace about ten that evening [e].

THREE days after the king's return to Berlin,
gave a ſplendid entertainment at the opera-
uſe, as the Feaſt of Peace. The court was
ted at ſix large tables; and, behind the ſcenes,
d in the different apartments of the theatre, a
ld collation, with a deſert, and plenty of wine,
s provided for the citizens of Berlin. The

[e] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 10, 11, 13.

opera-

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

opera-houſe was illuminated in the inſide wi wax candles, and on the outſide with lamp Directly fronting the theatre was erected building, which repreſented the temple JANUS; the gates of which were faſtened b a ſoldier in a Roman habit. Behind this templ were exhibited ſome magnificent fireworks. grand maſquerade ball was likewiſe given o the occaſion, which laſted till day-light [f].

THE opera-houſe, in which this ſplendi entertainment was given, is a very magnificen ſtructure, and was begun to be erected by Fre derick at the commencement of his reign. Dr Burney obſerves, that it was firſt opened on th birth-day of the queen-mother, in the yea 1742[g]. The principal front has two entrances one level with the ground, and the other by grand double flight of ſteps. This front is de corated with ſix Corinthian pillars, with thei entablature entire, ſupporting a pediment orna mented with reliefs, and with the followin inſcription upon it:

FRIDERICUS REX APOLLINI ET MUSI

THE front of this edifice is alſo decorated wi a conſiderable number of ſtatues of poets, ar dramatic actors, which are placed in niches. Th two ſides are conſtructed in the ſame manne

[f] Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 14.

[g] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 1 ſecond edition.

on

only there are no pillars[h]. There is a very large pit in this opera-houſe; and it has alſo four rows of boxes, and three galleries; and has been computed capable of containing more than two thouſand perſons.

CHAP. IX. A. D. 1745.

[h] Ibid. p. 95, 96.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Attention of the king of Pruſſia to civil regulations, and matters of domeſtic policy.—Eſtabliſhment of the Frederician code.—M. Maupertuis placed at the head of the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres.—New regulations of that academy.—Frederick grants permiſſion for the erection of a Roman Catholic church at Berlin.

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

AT the commencement of the year 1746, peace being eſtabliſhed in Germany, the king of Pruſſia was at leiſure to attend to civil regulations in his dominions, and to the promotion of commerce, literature, ſcience, and the arts. Theſe objects, therefore, in a conſiderable degree engaged his attention; and he alſo endeavoured to introduce a great reform into the courts of juſtice, and in the forms and expence of legal proceedings. He had remarked the long delays, and the enormous expences, which were attendant upon lawſuits; and he conſidered theſe as a great evil to his ſubjects. He had alſo obſerved, that each of his provinces had a different mode of judicial procedure, which in many caſes was productive of great inconveniencies. With a view, therefore, to remedy theſe evils, he propoſed that the forms of all the courts, in every part of his dominions, ſhould be reduced to one uniform courſe of procedure, by which

which all cauſes might be prepared for hearing; CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.
and terminated in the courſe of a year, though the litigating parties ſhould bring them into two courts; and even if appeals were made to the ſupreme tribunal, the cauſes were to be finally ſettled within that time. This plan the king communicated to baron Cocceius, his high chancellor; and directed him to make an experiment of it in Pomerania, a large province, which antiently was called *terra litigioſa*, on account of the litigious diſpoſition of its inhabitants [a]. The king's plan ſucceeded ſo well in Pomerania, that it was alſo tried in other provinces, and at length produced the Frederician Code, which was adopted in all the Pruſſian dominions. It was firſt publiſhed in the German language, and afterwards publiſhed in French; and an Engliſh tranſlation of it was printed at Edinburgh, in 1761, in two volumes, 8vo. under the following title; "The Frederician Code: or, a body of law for the "dominions of the king of Pruſſia, founded on "reaſon, and the conſtitutions of the country."

By the new regulations which now took place in judicial proceedings, throughout the Pruſſian dominions, the attornies, who had formerly the care of collecting evidence and of adjuſting all the preliminaries of a ſuit, were totally diſmiſſed; the whole buſineſs was put into the hands

[a] Summary View of the King's Plan for the regulation of Judicial Proceedings, written by M. Formey, and prefixed to the Frederician Code, vol. I. p. vi.

of

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

of the advocates; and the office of an attorney was annulled for ever. An inquiry was alſo ordered into the qualifications of the advocates. All thoſe who practiſed without a regular admiſſion, or who ſhould be convicted of illicit practiſes, were to be diſcarded. And the judges were commanded to examine which of the cauſes, then depending, had been protracted by the crimes or ignorance of the advocates, and to diſmiſs thoſe who ſhould be found culpable. The fees of advocates were exactly aſcertained; and no fees were to be paid till the cauſe was terminated. Advocates were ſtrictly enjoined not to undertake any cauſe, nor to begin any proceſs, before they had obtained from their clients all the information neceſſary for ſetting the matter in a true light, and enabling the judges to give a juſt deciſion. The number of advocates to be employed in each court was fixed, and a diſtinct advocate was appointed for the poor. No advocate was admitted in petty courts, ſmall towns, or villages; where the poverty of the people, and generally the low value of the matter conteſted, rendered diſpatch abſolutely neceſſary. In ſuch places, the parties were to appear before a judge appointed for the diſtrict, who was directed to make a ſummary deciſion.

THAT the king of Pruſſia had conſidered the nature and deſign of laws with more attention than is uſual to princes, is manifeſt from his "Diſſertation on the reaſons for the enacting and "repealing

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

"repealing of laws," of which an Engliſh tranſlation has been publiſhed, and annexed to the firſt volume of his "Memoirs of the Houſe of "Brandenburgh." In this Diſſertation, he ſays, 'A perfect body of laws would be one of the 'nobleſt productions of the human mind. Such 'a work would require an unity of deſign, and 'ſo great an exactneſs and proportion of rules, 'that a ſtate directed by thoſe laws would be 'like a watch, whoſe ſprings are all made for 'the ſame end. It would require a profound 'knowledge of the human heart, and of the 'temper and conſtitution of the people. It 'would require moderation in the infliction of 'puniſhments, ſo as to preſerve the morals of the 'people, without being either too mild, or too ſe-'vere. It would require a ſingular perſpicuity 'and diſtinctneſs in wording the decrees, ſo as 'never to afford any room for chicanery; and 'the decrees themſelves ſhould be an abſtract of 'the beſt regulations of the civil law, adapted 'with ingenuity and ſimplicity to the cuſtoms 'of the nation. In ſhort, it would require ſaga-'city to provide againſt every caſe that may 'happen, and judgment to combine even the 'minuteſt circumſtances. But perfection is not 'to be expected from the frail condition of 'humanity.' Frederick alſo obſerves, that 'a 'few wiſe laws make a nation happy; but a 'multiplicity of them embarraſs the admini-'ſtration of juſtice. As a ſkilful phyſician does 'not overload his patient with medicines, ſo 'a wiſe legiſlator does not burden the public

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

" to our unhappy ſituation ? If you were chari — " table, if you were humane, you would ſuccou — r " us in our diſtreſs, and then we ſhould not ro — b " you. We aſk you whether it be fair, that a — l " the pleaſures of life ſhould fall to your ſhar — e, " and nothing but miſery to ours [b] ?"

FREDERICK alſo condemns the practice of employing torture to extort confeſſion, which he cenſures as equally cruel and uſeleſs; and which he had, much to his honour, aboliſhed throughout his own dominions. But on this ſubject he makes a miſtake reſpecting England. 'In England,' ſays he, 'they had formerly the 'ordeal, or purgation by fire and by water. At 'preſent, they have a kind of torture leſs ſevere 'than the ordinary one, but which amounts 'nearly to the ſame thing [c].' Frederick ſeems to have been led into this miſapprehenſion, by the antient law which prevailed in this country, that thoſe perſons ſhould be preſſed to death, who refuſed to plead either guilty or not guilty. But this was a very different thing from torture to extort confeſſion; an occaſion to put this law in force ſeldom occurred; and it is now wholly aboliſhed by act of parliament.

IN 1746, M. MAUPERTUIS was appointed preſident of the royal academy of ſciences and belles letters at Berlin; and on the tenth of May,

[b] Diſſertation ſur les raiſons d'établir ou d'abroger les loix. P. 571, 572. edit. Lond. 1767. [c] Ibid. p. 575, 576.

that

hat year, ſome new laws, for the regulation of the academy, were approved and confirmed by the king[d]. The academy was to continue, as before, divided into four claſſes. The firſt claſs was that of experimental philoſophy, comprehending chymiſtry, anatomy, botany, and all the ſciences which are founded upon xperiment. The ſecond claſs, that of mathematics, comprehending geometry, algebra, mechanics, aſtronomy, and all the ſciences which have for their object abſtract extenſion, or numbers. The third claſs, that of ſpeculative philoſophy, included logic, metaphyſics, and morals. The fourth claſs was that of the belles lettres, and comprehended antiquities, hiſtory, and languages[e]. The academy was to conſiſt of three kinds of academicians, honorary, ordinary, and foreigners. The honorary members were not to be confined to any particular claſs, were to be only ſixteen in number, and were not obliged to produce any papers. The ordinary members were to be divided into veterans, penſionaries, and aſſociates. The veterans were to conſiſt of thoſe who, after long ſervices, had merited a diſpenſation from academical labours, and the continuance of their penſions and privileges. The penſionaries were to be twelve in number, and the aſſociates the ſame; and every penſionary was to read two papers a year,

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

[d] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 311, edit. 1768.
[e] Ibid. p. 303, 304.

and

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

and every aſſociate one. All new members were to be elected by the majority of the members preſent in the meetings of the academy; excepting that when there was a vacancy of a penſionary's place, the academy ſhould fix upon three perſons, two of whom ſhould be members of the academy, and one who was not a member; and out of theſe three the king ſhould fix upon the perſon to ſupply the vacancy. The ordinary meetings of the academy were to be holden every Thurſday, except at certain vacations; and the preſident, four curators of the academy, the ſecretary, the hiſtoriographer, and the librarian, were to conſtitute a committee, and to meet once a month, in order to fix upon ſuch papers as ſhould be publiſhed in the memoirs of the academy.

THESE new regulations were chiefly drawn up by Maupertuis, but ſome additions were made by the king's own hand. Frederick was deſirous of giving more power to the preſident, than was conſiſtent with thoſe liberal ſentiments, which ought to prevail in an academy of ſciences: and even in the new regulations of the academy his ideas ſeem to have been ſomewhat military. In the additions to theſe regulations made by the king himſelf, he ſays, 'The preſident Maupertuis ſhall have authority to beſtow 'the vacant penſions upon thoſe perſons whom 'he ſhall judge to merit them, to aboliſh the 'ſmaller penſions, and to increaſe thoſe that are

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CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

"too small, in such a manner as he shall judge proper. He shall also preside in the academy, without regard to rank, over all the members of it, whether honorary or otherwise; and nothing shall be done but by him: in the same manner as a general, who, in other respects, has no other rank than that of a gentleman, commands dukes and princes in an army, without any person taking offence at it[f]."

As Frederick, from the beginning of his reign, had shewn himself to be a friend to toleration in matters of religion, the Roman Catholicks of Berlin were encouraged to apply to him this year, for permission to erect a church in that city. He accordingly readily granted their request, assigned them a convenient place for the purpose, gave them permission to erect as large a church as they pleased, with steeples and bells, and authorized them to receive contributions for the purpose from the Roman Catholicks throughout his dominions. He also promised, for himself and his successors, that the church so erected should never be converted to any other use, than for the celebration of divine worship, according to the rites of the Romish religion[g].

In the year 1746, Frederick appears chiefly to ave resided at Potsdam. In the evenings he al-

[f] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, ut supra, p. 307, 309.
[g] Gent. Mag. vol. XVII. p. 66, 67.

ways

CHAP. X. A. D. 1746.

ways had a concert, and afterwards generally ſupped with a ſelect party. Bielfeld was frequently of this number; they converſed with much freedom; and they often ſat up till a late hour. "When the concert is over," ſays that writer, "we ſit down to ſupper; the converſation is gay; and the king is frequently "ſurprized to hear the clock ſtrike, two hours "after midnight, when he thought he had ſcarcely been an hour at table [h]."

[h] Letters, vol. II. p. 24, 25.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

ederick publiſhes his Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh, and his poem on the Art of War — Some account of thoſe performances.—Journies made by the king.—Entertainments of the court, at his different country palaces.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

S the king of Pruſſia, in the courſe of his ſtudies, had naturally been attentive to hiſtory of his own family, and his own untry, he was induced, from his deſire of obning accurate information on the ſubject, to aw up his MEMOIRES POUR SERVIR A L'HISIRE DE LA MAISON DE BRANDENBURGH. . Hertzberg, who has ſince diſtinguiſhed himlf as a very able miniſter of ſtate, but who is then a young man juſt come from the uniſity, was employed in collecting ſome of the aterials [a]. Theſe memoirs were afterwards inted at Berlin, and read, at different times, the royal academy of ſciences and belles letrs. The firſt part was read at the royal acamy on the firſt of June, 1747 [b], by M. Darct, member of the academy, and ſecretary to king. The king's brothers, and his ſiſter the ncefs Amelia, were preſent on this occaſion [c].

[a] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere année de la vie de Freck, &c. p. 15.

[b] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 312. [c] Id. Ibid.

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CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

An Engliſh tranſlation of the MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE OF BRANDENBURGH, has been publiſhed in two volumes, 12mo. the firſt volume in 1758, and the ſecond in 1768. The king dedicated this work to his brother, the prince-royal of Pruſſia. In this dedication Frederick beſtows high encomiums on that prince, and expreſſes himſelf in the following terms reſpecting the manner in which he had written his Memoirs: 'I have treated the ſubject,' ſays he, 'with 'freedom and impartiality, ſo as to exhibit the 'princes of your houſe in their real colours. 'The ſame pen, which has drawn the civil and 'military virtues of the great elector, has glanced 'at the foibles of the firſt king of Pruſſia, and 'thoſe paſſions, which, in the order of Provi-'dence, contributed afterwards to raiſe this 'houſe to its preſent pitch of grandeur. I have 'diveſted myſelf of all manner of prejudice, and 'conſidered princes, kings, relations, only as 'ordinary men. Far from being biaſſed by the 'weight of power, or from idolizing my anceſ-'tors, I have freely condemned their vices, be-'cauſe vice ſhould find no patronage on the 'throne. I have praiſed virtue wherever I have 'found it, but at the ſame time have guarded 'againſt that enthuſiaſm which it naturally in-'ſpires; to the end that nothing but truth, in 'her plain and native dreſs, ſhould reign 'throughout this hiſtory.'

THE Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh contain much valuable and curious information, and

ınd are written with perſpicuity, ſpirit, and vi- acity; but miſrepreſentations occaſionally oc- ur, and there are ſome very exceptionable paſ- ıges. The account given by him of the riſe of ıe reformation, is neither juſt nor candid, ıd is very unfavourable to the reformers. ɔeaking of John Huss, and the Bohemian rôteſtants, he ſays, 'Huſs was burnt at the :ouncil of Conſtance. His pretended martyr- lom enflamed the zeal of his diſciples. The Bohemians, who were too dull a people to en- er into the ſophiſtical diſputes of the Theolo- ians, embraced this new ſect only from that pirit of independence and mutiny, which is o much the characteriſtic of this nation. Theſe new converts ſhook off the papal yoke, nd made uſe of the liberty of their conſci- nces, as a cloak to cover the crime of their evolt.' Of the reſtoration of Charles II. d the revolution in 1688, he gives the fol- ving account: 'After the death of Crom- vell, his ſon Richard, who was more a phi- ſopher than a politician, having renounced he power that the protector had left him by his ſurpation, the Engliſh called with one voice Charles II. to the throne of his father. After is death, James II. ſucceeded him. William, tadholder of Holland, who had married his ldeſt daughter, named Mary, made his advan- age of the diſlike that the Engliſh nation had

Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Brandenburgh, tom. I. p. 27. edit. Lond. 1767.

'againſt

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

'againſt their king, whoſe chief crime was that 'he was a Roman Catholic He had formed, 'for a conſiderable time, a large party againſt 'that prince in England. That party began to 'ſhew itſelf ſoon after the death of the great elec- 'tor; and it was then that the prince of Orange 'undertook to dethrone his father-in-law, and 'he was then willing to owe only to his arms, 'that which his intrigues ſeemed too ſlowly to 'procure him. A Jew of Amſterdam, named 'Suaſſo, lent him two millions for this expediti- 'on; ſaying to him, "If you ſucceed, I know "you will repay me; If you miſcarry, I am "content to loſe the money." With this ſum "William went over into England, dethroned "king James, ſubdued the oppoſite party, and "became in ſome meaſure, the lawful ſovereign "of thoſe three kingdoms, by the approbation 'of the people, who ſeemed to authorize his 'uſurpation[e].' This account of the Revolution, does not afford a very favourable ſpecimen of the accuracy, or fidelity, of Frederick's narrations.

THE account alſo given by the king of Pruſſia, in this work, of the attempt made in England to introduce the Exciſe-ſcheme, in the reign of his uncle, king George II. is not unworthy of attention. 'George II' ſays he, 'had formed the ſcheme 'of rendering himſelf abſolute in Great Britain. 'This was an enterprize that could not be com-

[e] Mémoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Brandenburgh, tom. I. p. 208, 209.

'paſſed

paſſed by open force, but privately, and by indirect means. To introduce the Exciſe in England, and to enſlave the nation, was one and the ſame thing. If the ſcheme ſucceeded, it would give the king a fixed and certain revenue, with which he might increaſe his army, and eſtabliſh his power. Walpole having propoſed the introduction of the exciſe to ſome members of parliament, on whom he thought he might depend, they declared, that the pay they received from him was only to ſupport the uſual courſe of abſurd meaſures, and not ſo extraordinary a project as that was. Notwithſtanding theſe repreſentations, Walpole brought the affair into parliament, where he harangued with ſo much eloquence, as to carry his point, in ſpite of Pulteney, and the cabal which then oppoſed the court. His victory appeared ſo compleat, that the bill for the exciſe was carried by a great majority. The next day, an inſurrection had nearly taken place in the city. The lords, and the principal merchants, addreſſed the king, demanding a ſuppreſſion of the bill. Though care had been taken to ſurround the houſe with guards, the people gathered about it in great numbers. They filled the air with their ſeditious cries, and began to inſult the king's officers; ſo that they ſeemed to want nothing but a head to render the rebellion compleat. Walpole, who ſaw that the affair was becoming very ſerious, now thought that it was time to retreat.

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CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

'He immediately cancelled the bill, and ſallied 'out from the parliament-houſe, diſguiſed in an 'old cloak, and crying out, LIBERTY, LIBERTY, 'AND NO EXCISE! He found the king at St. 'James's, arming himſelf *cap-a-pe*; he had al'ready put on the beaver that he wore at Mal'plaquet; he was trying on the ſword with 'which he had fought at Oudenarde; and was 'for putting himſelf at the head of his guards, 'aſſembled in the court of the palace, in order 'to ſupport his exciſe-ſcheme with firmneſs. 'It was with great difficulty that Walpole could 'moderate his impetuoſity; he repreſented to 'him with all the generous boldneſs of an Eng'liſhman, attached to his maſter, that this was 'no time for fighting, but for chooſing between 'the bill and the crown. In ſhort, the ſcheme 'of exciſe fell to the ground; and the king, 'greatly diſſatisfied with his parliament, began 'to diſtruſt his own authority, of which he had 'been in danger of making a very ſorrowful 'experiment[f].'

To the Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenburgh four Diſſertations were added: I. On Superſtition and Religion. II. On manners, cuſtoms, induſtry, and the progreſs of the human underſtanding in the arts and ſciences. III. On the antient and modern government of Brandenburgh. IV. On the reaſons for the enacting and repealing of laws; of which I have

[f] Mémoires de Brandenburgh, p. 359, 360, 361.

taken

taken ſome notice in the preceding chapter. At the cloſe of the firſt of theſe diſſertations, after ſpeaking of the different ſects of religion in Pruſſia, Frederick expreſſes himſelf in the following manner: 'All theſe ſects live here in 'peace, and contribute alike to the proſperity of 'the ſtate: for there is no religion which differs 'greatly from the reſt with reſpect to morality. 'Hence they may be all equal to the govern-'ment, which of courſe leaves every man to go 'to heaven which way he pleaſes. All that is 'required of him is, that he ſhould be a good 'citizen. Falſe zeal is a tyrant that depopulates 'provinces; toleration is a tender mother, that 'nouriſhes them, and makes them flouriſh[g].'

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

About this time the king of Pruſſia alſo wrote his Poem on the Art of War[h], in ſix books, which is his largeſt poetical production, and of which an Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed in 4to. in 1780. The first book opens with an addreſs to the prince of Pruſſia, followed by wiſhes, that the Pruſſian dominions might never be expoſed to the calamities of war; an exhortation being, however, at the ſame time added, that if ever Pruſſia ſhould be attacked by a proud and ambitious enemy, its kings and people ſhould courageouſly unite together in defence of their country. The royal author afterwards proceeds to inculcate the

[g] Mémoires de Brandenburgh, p. 459, 460.

[h] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere année de la vie, &c. p. 15, 16.

firſt

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

first principles of the military art; he urges the neceſſity that the young ſoldier is under, of firſt learning to obey, that he may hereafter be qualified to command; he points out the importance of an exact diſcipline; and illuſtrates the different evolutions and manœuvres of the infantry and cavalry. He then applauds the military ſcience of the antient Greeks; SPARTA, he obſerves, was the cradle and the ſchool of warriors; and he celebrates MILTIADES, CIMON, EPAMINONDAS, and ALEXANDER the Great[i]. From the Greeks he proceeds to the Romans, of whoſe military ſkill he ſpeaks in the higheſt terms; and afterwards, among modern warriors, celebrates mareſchal TURENNE and prince EUGENE.

IN the SECOND book, Frederick treats of that important branch of the military art, the choice of an encampment, adapted to the particular circumſtances of the army, and to the deſigns of the commander. He celebrates the praiſes of FABIUS, HANNIBAL, LEONIDAS, and MONTECUCULLI; and he recommends to generals, that they ſhould regulate their conduct by that of the enemy, that they ſhould be vigilant, and ready to anticipate whatever may happen; that they ſhould take poſſeſſion of the moſt advantageous poſts, march with rapidity, ſeize every advantage, retreat without loſs,

[i] Oeuvres du Philoſophe de Sans-Souci, tom. II. p. 8. edit. Berlin, 1760, 12mo.

advance

advance readily and at a proper moment, and always be occupied in new deſigns [k]. CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

THE THIRD book begins with a highly poetical deſcription of the temple of Mars; in which, among other allegorical perſonages, Experience holds a diſtinguiſhed place; and in this book he celebrates JULIUS CÆSAR, ALCIBIADES, PAULUS ÆMILIUS, SCIPIO, the prince of CONDE, VILLARS, the prince of ANHALT, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and his anceſtor the GREAT ELECTOR; and alſo enumerates ſome of the moſt ſplendid actions of prince EUGENE.

IN the FOURTH book, he treats of the art of fortifying and defending cities; and takes notice of the invention of gunpowder, and the alteration which that diſcovery, and the uſe of artillery, has made in the art of war, and particularly in the caſe of ſieges. He celebrates VAUBAN for his ſkill in the erection of Fortifications; lays down rules for conducting ſieges; and gives an intereſting deſcription of the taking of Magdeburgh, and the maſſacre of its inhabitants, reprobating, with a juſt ſeverity, the infamous behaviour of Tilly, the Auſtrian general, on that occaſion.

IN the FIFTH book, Frederick treats of the method of ſecuring and connecting together the winter quarters; and he ſhews how important a part of the buſineſs of a general it is, to provide proper ſubſiſtence for his troops. In winter, he

k Oeuvres du Philoſophe de Sans-Souci, tom. II. p. 18, 19.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

alſo remarks, that the places of thoſe ſoldiers, whoſe lives had been loſt in the preceding campaign, ſhould be ſupplied by new recruits; he ſhews the neceſſity that a general is under, of not being off his guard even during winter; and he points out the danger and diſhonour of being ſurprized in winter quarters, by the example of Bournonville; who having extended too much his quarters in Alſace, was ſuddenly attacked by Turenne, and driven on the other ſide of the Rhine; though he had a numerous army, the very flower of Germany. But he alſo exhibits more pleaſing ſcenes: he paints the warrior, in the winter, returning to his home, reviſiting his wife and children, and enjoying all the delights of conjugal and parental affection.[1]

THE SIXTH book treats of battles; and in this book Frederick lays down ſuch rules, as are moſt likely to enſure ſucceſs to thoſe generals who lead armies on to battle; and he illuſtrates his rules by ſome of the moſt famous battles in antient and in modern times. In the conduct of a battle he ſhews, that valour alone is not ſufficient, but that prudence, foreſight, and ſagacity are neceſſary; and he particularly cautions his military readers againſt too much confidence and preſumption. He alſo remarks, that battles ſhould not be wantonly engaged in without proſpect of advantage; but that a general ſhould conſider himſelf as the father of his

[1] Oeuvres du Philoſophe de Sans-Souci, ut ſupra, p. 44, 45.

ſoldiers,

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

oldiers, and not ſacrifice their lives unneceſſa-ily. But, when an action becomes proper, very nerve is to be ſtrained, every effort to be mployed, in order to obtain the victory. He hews, that it is more advantageous to attack an nemy, than to wait to receive their attacks; hat an able general ſhould have the utmoſt elf poſſeſſion in the midſt of the hotteſt action; hat he ſhould be fertile in reſources; and that hen a battle is gained, the greateſt care ſhould e taken to make the proper advantage of it. mong other generals who are celebrated in is book, is his opponent prince CHARLES f LORRAIN, whoſe military ſcience he highly pplauds, and particularly that diſplay which e made of it in his paſſage over the Rhine, in he ſight of the French army [m].

THE king of Pruſſia's poem on L'ART DE LA GUERRE contains many ſound and important principles of the military art, adorned with the graces of poetry; but it is a ſingular circumſtance, that in a poem on this ſubject, in which e has celebrated ſo many antient and modern generals, in which he has repeatedly beſtowed very high encomiums on prince Eugene, and even mentioned the battle of Blenheim [n], he hould with the moſt extreme caution have voided making the leaſt mention of our illuſtrious JOHN duke of MARLBOROUGH. This triking omiſſion was very properly, and in a

[m] Oeuvres du Philoſophe de Sans-Souci, ut ſupra, p. 59.
[n] Ibid. p. 56.

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

manner juſtly ſarcaſtic, animadverted upon in the following paſſage in the Monthly Review[a]: 'It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in a poem 'treating of the art of war, and in which all 'the great commanders of antient and modern 'times are occaſionally introduced, no heroes of 'Engliſh ſtory are ſo much as once mentioned, 'not even the glorious MARLBOROUGH; though 'the very generals he ſo frequently defeated have 'reſpectable places aſſigned them in this temple 'of Fame. It is not to be ſuppoſed that this 'ſilence, with reſpect to MARLBOROUGH, pro-'ceeded from invidious motives; we rather 'think, that his Pruſſian majeſty conſidered HIM 'as a general who underſtood ONLY PART OF 'HIS PROFESSION, having never given any proof 'of his ſkill in CONDUCTING A RETREAT.'

IN the year 1747, M. Bielfeld attended the king in journies to Sileſia, Magdeburgh, and Stettin, in each of which places Frederick reviewed his troops, examined into the ſtate of the police, and made regulations reſpecting government and the finances. The ſame gentleman accompanied the king, both that year and the preceding, in different parties of pleaſure at his ſeveral country palaces, of which he gives the following account: 'We have paſſed,' ſays he, 'part of the two laſt ſummers ſometimes at 'SANS-SOUCI, ſometimes at CHARLOTTENBURG, 'ſometimes at ORANGEBOURG, and ſometimes 'at RHEINSBERG. The queens, the princes,

[a] Vol. LXV. p. 285.

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'the princeſſes, and the greateſt part of thoſe 'gentlemen and ladies who belong to the court, 'have been of theſe parties. Every where we 'have found commodious and well-furniſhed 'apartments, agreeable entertainments, ſuperb 'gardens, balls, illuminations, fire-works, a 'royal table, and wine fit for the gods. The 'king has enjoyed a continual flow of ſpirits, 'and we have conſtantly regarded him as the 'author and ſupporter of all our joy. At 'Rheinſberg, his majeſty permitted us to act 'the tragedy of Britannicus, in which I played 'the part of Nero. Almoſt all the other per-'formers were princes. The princeſs Amelia 'performed the part of Agrippina with amaz-'ing force and propriety [p].'

DURING their ſtay at Charlottenbourg, a fire broke out in the palace, which did great damage, and endangered the lives of ſome of the royal family. The king had invited the queen conſort, and the queen dowager, to ſpend ſome weeks at Charlottenbourg; in conſequence of which the whole court, which conſiſted of two hundred and eighty perſons, including domeſtics, were lodged in the palace. When they had been there three days, a fire broke out at two o'clock in the morning, which raged with great violence, and continued ſeveral hours before it was extinguiſhed. In the midſt of the conſternation occaſioned by this accident, Bielfeld ſaw the king walking very com-

[p] Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 242, 243.

poſedly

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

posedly on the terrace; and going up to his majesty, Frederick said, "Well, it is a misfortune; but, if nobody be hurt, no matter. The "workmen of Berlin will be the better for it." The damage made by this fire was estimated at twenty-five thousand crowns. The king gave directions to M. Knobelstorf, who was then superintendant of his buildings, to put every thing, as nearly as possible, into the same state in which it was before the fire. The court removed soon after to Orangebourg, where a variety of entertainments were exhibited, which appear to have been under the particular direction of the prince of Prussia [9].

THOUGH Frederick's administration of government naturally procured him, in many respects, the applause of his subjects, yet as he attended no place of public worship, kept much company with men whose sentiments relative to religion were known to be licentious, and on topics of that kind sometimes sufficiently manifested his own sceptical principles, reflections against him on this account were occasionally thrown out by some of the clergy. One instance of this is related by Voltaire, who also gives a ludicrous account of the king's behaviour on the occasion. The clergyman of a village near Stettin, in a sermon upon Herod, had made use of some expressions, by which it was understood, that he intended to reflect upon the king. 'He was therefore, summoned,' says Voltaire,

[9] Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 244, 245, 247, 248.

to

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

'to appear before the conſiſtory at Potſdam; 'though there was, in reality, no more a con-'ſiſtory at court, than there was a maſs. The 'poor man came. The king put on a gown 'and band. M. D'Argens, author of the 'Jewiſh Letters, and baron Pollnitz, who had 'changed his religion three or four times, 'dreſſed themſelves up in the ſame manner. 'A folio volume of Bayle's Dictionary was 'placed upon the table inſtead of a Bible, and 'the culprit was introduced by two grenadiers, 'and ſet before theſe three miniſters of the 'goſpel. "My brother," ſaid the king, "I "demand of you, in the name of God, who "that Herod was, concerning whom you "preached?" "He who ſlew the children," 'replied the ſimple prieſt. "But was that "Herod the firſt?" ſaid the king; "for you "ought to know there have been ſeveral He-"rods." The village prieſt was ſilent: he could 'not anſwer this queſtion. "How," conti-'nued the king, "have you dared to preach "about Herod, and are ignorant both of him "and his family! We ſhall pardon you for "this time, but know, that we ſhall excom-"municate you, if ever hereafter you ſhould "dare to preach againſt any one whom you "do not know." They then delivered his ſen-'tence and pardon to him, ſigned by three ridi-'culous names, invented on purpoſe. "We "ſhall go to-morrow to Berlin," added the 'king; "and we will ſolicit forgiveneſs for you

'of

CHAP. XI. A. D. 1747.

" of our brotherhood. Do not fail to come and " find us out." Accordingly the prieſt went to ' Berlin, to ſeek for theſe three miniſters of the ' goſpel: but he was only laughed at; and the ' king, who had more humour than liberality, ' forgot to reimburſe him for the expences of ' his journey [r].

[r] Mémoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui même, édit. Lond. 1784. p. 81, 82, 83.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Frederick appoints M. Bielfeld ſuperintendant of all the univerſities in his dominions.—The king's attention to the intereſts of his ſubjects, and the embelliſhment of his capital.—He maintains the right of his ſubjects to navigate the ſeas, without interruption from other powers at war.—His repreſentations on that ſubject to the States-general, and to the court of Great Britain.—Conteſt between the king of Pruſſia and his Britannick majeſty, concerning the property of Eaſt Frieſland.—Frederick interpoſes in the diſputes between the courts of Ruſſia and Sweden.—He receives a viſit from mareſchal Saxe at Potſdam.

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

IN the courſe of the year 1747, the king of Pruſſia conferred on M. BIELFELD [D] the office of ſuperintendant of all the univerſities in his dominions[a]. Theſe were HALLE in Saxony, FRANCK-

[D] Baron BIELFELD was born at Hamburgh, in the year 1711. Some of his earlier years were ſpent at Leyden; and in 1738, he became acquainted with the prince-royal of Pruſſia. He ſoon after entered into the prince's ſervice, and reſided with him at Rheinſberg; and, after his ſucceſſion, was made ſecretary of legation, and attended count Trouchſes in his embaſſy to the king of Great Britain. In 1741, he attended the king of Pruſſia in Sileſia; and the ſame year he tranſlated into the German language Monteſ-

[a] Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 253, 254.

quieu's

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

FRANCKFORT on the Oder, KONIGSBERG in Pruſſia, DUYSBOURG, and LINGEN. And on the

quieu's treatiſe on the cauſes of the grandeur and declenſion of the Romans. In 1745, he was appointed preceptor to prince Ferdinand, the king's youngeſt brother; and beſides his office of ſuperintendant of all the univerſities in the Pruſſian dominions, he was alſo made director of the hoſpital of Berlin, and had occaſionally the management of the theatres. He married a lady of Halle in Saxony, who was poſſeſſed of a large fortune, in 1748; and it was then that the king of Pruſſia conferred on him the dignity of a baron; after which he took a large houſe at Berlin, and reſided there ſome years. But in 1755, he quitted the Pruſſian court, and went to reſide at Treben, a pleaſant country ſeat, near Altenburgh, in Saxony. Here he paſſed his time in an agreeable retirement, till the ravages of war compelled him to leave his houſe, and to take ſhelter in Hamburgh; for that, he obſerved, was then almoſt the only place in Germany, to which the war was not extended.

In 1759, baron Bielfeld publiſhed his *Political Inſtitutes*, in two volumes, 4to. at the Hague. In the firſt of theſe volumes the author treats of every thing that regards domeſtic polity, and the regulations neceſſary to the peace, proſperity, and internal ſecurity of a ſtate. In the ſecond, he treats entirely of foreign affairs, the comparative ſtrength and greatneſs of different nations, their alliances, and the moſt material circumſtances relating to their adminiſtration both in peace and war. Some parts of this work, as may eaſily be conceived from the baron's connections, were not very conſonant to juſt ſentiments of political freedom. Among others, to whom he ſent copies of his work, one was Voltaire, who, before he had read the book, ſent him a letter returning him thanks for it, in which is the following paſſage: 'Teach princes to do juſtice. That will be a 'conſolation to thoſe who are liable to ſuffer from their 'ambition, from their caprices, from their injuſtice, and 'from

the king's birth-day, this year a panegyric was pronounced by M. MAUPERTUIS, as preſident, in

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

'from their wickedneſs. Mankind love to hear of the law of 'nations. They are like the ſick, to whom men talk of an 'univerſal remedy. Have you not ſaid ſomething about Li-'berty? I imagine you enjoy it to your wiſh at Hamburg. 'For my own part, I enjoy it effectually; and have, for 'theſe ſix years paſt, been completely inebriated with the 'enjoyment. I am in the poſſeſſion of free lands on the bor-'ders of France, and find myſelf in a ſtate of perfect indepen-'dency. Do you not remember the time when you were not 'permitted to go to your own eſtate? That was certainly 'contrary to the law of nations.'

When peace was concluded, baron Bielfeld returned again to his country-ſeat near Altenburgh; and in 1763, were publiſhed at the Hague, in two volumes, 12mo. *Lettres familières et autres, de Monſieur le Baron de Bielfeld.* Theſe letters were afterwards publiſhed in German, and in Engliſh, and have been frequently referred to in the courſe of this work. They are extremely entertaining, and are very agreeably written; but there are ſome errors in the dates, and a few other inaccuracies. In 1768, he alſo publiſhed, in two volumes, 8vo. at Leyden, *Amuſemens Dramatiques*; a collection of comedies, in which the manners of the German courts ſeem to be very juſtly delineated. He was likewiſe author of 'The Elements of Univerſal Erudition, containing 'an analytical abridgement of the ſciences, polite arts, and 'belles lettres:' of which an Engliſh tranſlation was publiſhed, in three volumes, 8vo. by Dr. Hooper, in the year 1770. In the preface to this work, the Baron ſays, 'After 'labouring for many years amidſt the great world, I am con-'vinced, that all is vanity; and that at a certain period of 'life, the greateſt happineſs which a man can aſpire after, 'conſiſts in living for himſelf, for a few real friends, for the 'muſes, and for the comforts of retirement.'

Baron

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

in the royal academy, on FREDERICK; and on his attention to literature, ſcience, the arts, and the

Baron Bielfeld died at Altenburgh in the year 1770, aged fifty-nine. He had ſeveral children by his wife, who died ſome time before him; but only two of his ſons ſeem to have ſurvived him. He appears to have been a man of amiable character and manners, and had a much greater averſion to war than his royal maſter. In one of his letters, dated from Treben, Sept. 20, 1756, ſpeaking of ſome Pruſſian troops who were arrived in that neighbourhood, he ſays, 'It is reported, that theſe military gentry are going againſt Dreſden; but it ſeems uncertain whether they will enter Saxony or Bohemia. God grant that they may go far from hence! for the ſound of war is ſo hateful to my ears, that I would fly to the utmoſt parts of the earth to avoid it.' In another letter he ſays, 'What a horrible evil is war! If it procures to heroes an opportunity of adorning their brows with laurels, thoſe laurels are conſtantly ſtained with human blood, which in my eyes tarniſhes all their luſtre: and in what diſtreſsful ſituations are many peaceable citizens placed in conſequence of it! If I were to make a dictionary, I think I ſhould not allow the word war any place in it.' And, in a third letter, the baron makes the following obſervations: 'If men were born tigers, if their ſubſiſtence depended upon their murderous exploits, if they were compelled to kill, and deſtroy each other, for their wants, and for their mutual advantage, then I ſhould find a conſiderable degree of merit in warlike qualities, and a hero would appear in my eyes a very reaſonable being. But as Divine Providence has diſpenſed to the whole human race, all that is neceſſary to the ſupport and ſuſtenance of every man; and as reaſon, the law of nature, and the poſitive laws of different nations, have granted a potion of theſe goods to every individual of ſociety; ſo that no man can, ſtrictly ſpeaking, be ſaid to die for want; and as the abundance of

the

he general intereſts of his kingdom [b]. To all theſe objects the king, indeed, paid great regard; as he did alſo to manufactures, commerce, and agriculture. He likewiſe employed much pains and expence in embelliſhing BERLIN and POTSDAM, in both which places many new ſtreets were built, and very handſome edifices erected, under his own immediate direction. CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

AMONG other meaſures which Frederick adopted for the benefit of his ſubjects, one was, main-

' the neceſſaries of life depends on the intercourſe of mankind, and the calm of peace, it ſeems matter of aſtoniſhment to me, that peace is not regarded as inviolable, that war ſhould ever take place among men, and that the military profeſſion ſhould not be baniſhed from the earth. The more I think upon the ſubject, the leſs I am able to diſcover, that natural diſpoſitions, or acquired talents, for killing and exterminating our fellow-creatures, are to be conſidered as eſtimable qualities; or that what the folly of mankind has decorated with the ſpecious names of valour, and of heroiſm, has any juſt claim to honour or applauſe. The whole is a kind of illuſion, with which the great deceive the inferior claſſes of mankind, in order to make them ſerve as the inſtruments of their paſſions, and eſpecially of their ambition.'—' What ſight can be more horrid, than that of a country ravaged by war! where nothing is to be ſeen but fire and ſword, terror, confuſion, deſpair, and death. What ſight, on the contrary, can be more pleaſing, than that of a country which is the reſidence of peace; where every citizen enjoys the fruit of his labours, where all talents are employed and encouraged, where arts, ſciences, and commerce flouriſh, and where the calm delights of ſocial life are enjoyed with chearfulneſs and innocence.'

[b] Oeures de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 271, &c.

taining

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1747.

taining, with great firmneſs, their right to navigate the ſeas, without interruption from other powers at war: and hence he is conſidered, by count Hertzberg [c], as the firſt author of that ſyſtem of armed maritime neutrality, which has ſince been aſſerted by other nations. A memorial was preſented on this ſubject to the States-general, by M. Ammon, his Pruſſian majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague, on the eleventh of December, 1747; in which he required of their high mightineſſes, that they ſhould give poſitive and ſtrict orders to their ſubjects, not to moleſt the ſhips of his Pruſſian majeſty's ſubjects, on pretence of viſiting them, or upon any pretext whatſoever; but to let them proceed freely on their voyages, on the bare exhibition of the paſſports and papers, which captains of men of war and privateers were authorized to demand at ſea [d]. On the 8th of January following, a memorial was preſented by the Pruſſian reſident in London, to the earl of Cheſterfield, then ſecretary of ſtate, in which it was obſerved, that his Pruſſian majeſty had juſt reaſon to expect, from the declarations made by his Britannick majeſty's miniſters, that reſpect would have been paid to his flag, during the war which then ſubſiſted between Great Britain, France, and Spain; but that, on the contrary, though his Pruſſian majeſty's ſubjects had

[c] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 16.

[d] Gent. Mag. vol. XVII. p. 569, 570.

never

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1748.

r deviated from the regulations of the merce allowed to neutral nations, yet the lish men of war, or privateers, had unjuſt- ken Pruſſian veſſels, ſeveral of which were ined in the ports of England. His ma- , therefore, required, that the command- of Engliſh men of war, and privateers, ht be enjoined, under ſevere penalties, to eſt his flag, and to leave navigation free e veſſels of his ſubjects, without troubling oleſting them under pretext of ſearch or ; and content themſelves with the bare bition of the paſſports and other papers, which captains of men of war, and priva- s, were authorized by cuſtom to demand inſpection. A reply to this memorial was ded by the earl of Cheſterfield, in which lordſhip obſerved, that his Britannick ma- never intended to occaſion the leaſt ob- ction to the navigation of the ſubjects of king of Pruſſia, ſo long as they carried on r trade in a lawful manner, and conforma- to the antient uſage eſtabliſhed and acknow- ged among neutral powers. But his Pruſ- majeſty could not but know, that there e treaties of commerce actually ſubſiſting ween Great Britain and certain neutral ſtates; that, by means of the engagements for- ly contracted on both ſides, every thing re- ve to their reciprocal trade was fully ſtated regulated. At the ſame time it did not ear, that any treaty of that nature exiſted reſent, or ever did exiſt, between his Bri-

tannick

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1748.

tannick majeſty and the king of Pruſſia; though that had never hindered the Pruſſian ſubjects from being favoured in England, with reſpect to their navigation, as much as other neutral nations. This being the caſe, his Britannick majeſty took it for granted, that the intention of the king of Pruſſia could not be to require him to make diſtinctions, or to give a preference to the Pruſſian ſubjects. His Pruſſian majeſty, it was added, was alſo too well acquainted with affairs in general, not to know, that there were eſtabliſhed laws in the government of England, which could not be departed from; and that if it even ſhould ſo happen, that the Engliſh ſhips ſhould take upon them to do any injuſtice to the trading ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia, there was a tribunal in England, the high court of Admiralty, to which they had a right to apply, and to make their complaints. The judicial proceedings of that court, it was farther ſaid, had been irreproachable, and without blemiſh; as was manifeſt from ſeveral examples, wherein neutral ſhips, unlawfully taken, had been reſtored to the proprietors with coſts and damages[e]. But this anſwer was not ſatisfactory to the king of Pruſſia, who afterwards repeated his demand, and adopted other meaſures, in order to ſecure a free navigation to his ſubjects.

When plenipotentiaries were ſent from the different powers at war to Aix-la-Chapelle, in

[e] Lond. Mag. for 1748, p. 39.

1748,

1748, in order to treat of a general peace, the king of Prussia also sent there M. Ammon, as his minister; and he obtained the guarantee of all the contracting powers to his Prussian majesty's possession of Silesia[f]. But some time after a dispute took place, between his Britannick majesty and the king of Prussia, concerning the property of East Friesland. Frederick had entered upon it, as heir to the last possessor, and received the investiture from the elector of Bavaria. But the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, had pretensions to the same inheritance; and, therefore, his minister delivered a memorial to the diet of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, demanding that the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburgh, should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council, in regard to his claim to the estates of East Friesland. It was accordingly determined by the electoral college, that the dispute should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council. But Frederick, being already in possession, refused to submit his claim to the determination of that, or any other tribunal. Several other memorials were afterwards published by both the parties; but the king of Great Britain at length gave up the point in dispute between him and his nephew, with whom he was unwilling to have any farther contest.

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1748.

[f] Mémoire Historique, par le comte de Hertzberg, ut supra, p. 16, 17.

CHAP. XII A. D. 1749

THOUGH peace was now re-eſtabliſhed between the different powers of Europe, yet, in the year 1749, apprehenſions were entertained, that the public tranquillity would be again diſturbed, by a rupture between Ruſſia and Sweden. The preceding year a treaty of alliance had been concluded between the king of Sweden and the king of Pruſſia, in which the court of France had concurred; and it was given out by the court of Peterſburgh, that the czarina had obtained information, that a ſcheme was formed, after the death of the preſent king of Sweden, who was far advanced in age, and in a declining ſtate of health, to change the preſent form of government, and to inveſt the prince his ſucceſſor, who was married to a ſiſter of the king of Pruſſia, with deſpotic power. The empreſs of Ruſſia profeſſed to be of opinion, that if the king of Sweden ſhould thus be poſſeſſed of arbitrary power, and be guided by the councils of France and Pruſſia, he might become a very troubleſome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltick[g]. Reports were, indeed, propagated, that the king of Pruſſia had formed a ſcheme of making a revolution in the ſtate of the North, by recovering to Sweden the provinces now poſſeſſed by the Ruſſians; and that, as a compenſation to him for his aſſiſtance to the Swedes, Swediſh Pomerania, and the iſle of Rugen, were to be given up to him,

[g] Smollet's Hiſt of England from the Revolution, publiſhed as a Continuation of Hume, vol. III. p. 249.

when

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

hen Livonia ſhould be recovered from the uſſians[h]. Whatever there might be in theſe eports, the Ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm de- vered a memorial to that court, in which it as obſerved, that a general rumour prevailed f a deſign to change, after the king's death, e preſent form of government in Sweden. er imperial majeſty, it was ſaid, was deſirous live in a good underſtanding with the neigh- ouring powers, particularly with the crown of weden; but if there was a deſign to change e preſent form of government, and thereby endanger the tranquillity of the North, her mperial majeſty could not diſpenſe with her- elf from taking cognizance of an affair of ſuch onſequence to all the Northern powers. She as the rather obliged to do this, becauſe it had een expreſsly ſtipulated, in an article of the eaty of peace concluded at Nyſtadt, that Ruſ- a ſhould endeavour, by all poſſible means, to revent any alteration whatſoever in the form f government, which had been univerſally ap- roved and ſworn to by the ſtates of Sweden. s this article had been confirmed by all the eaties ſince ſigned with Sweden, her imperial ajeſty of all the Ruſſias could not behold with difference, or permit, an alteration to be made the government of Sweden; but, on the ntrary, would find herſelf under a neceſſity take the moſt proper meaſures for the pre-

[h] Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 94.

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

ſervation of the tranquillity of the North i. The empreſs of Ruſſia alſo recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, and ordered a ſtrong body of forces to advance towards the frontiers of Finland; and the Ruſſian miniſter then delivered another memorial to the court of Stockholm, in which it was ſtated, that the empreſs of Ruſſia being determined to maintain the form of government, in the manner in which it was at preſent eſtabliſhed in Sweden, and of which her imperial majeſty was guarantee, ſhe ſhould cauſe her troops to enter Finland, leſt any meaſure ſhould be adopted, on the death of the reigning king, to change the preſent conſtitution of Sweden. But the Ruſſian troops, it was added, were to continue in Finland on the footing of friends; and they were to obſerve an exact diſcipline, and to live entirely at their own expence, till ſuch time as the new king of Sweden was proclaimed, and he had made aſſurance by oath, that he would maintain the preſent form of the government, and obſerve its treaties k. It was replied on the part of the court of Stockholm, that the prince, ſucceſſor to the throne of Sweden, had already given public and ſufficient aſſurances, that his royal highneſs would not ſwerve or depart from his agreements, or ever undertake any thing to the leaſt prejudice of the rights and liberties of the kingdom. But that if, notwithſtanding all theſe ſolemn aſſurances,

i London Mag. for 1749, p. 166.
k Ibid. p. 483.

the

the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould perſiſt, on any pretence whatſoever, in the intention of making her troops paſs the frontiers of Finland, his Swediſh majeſty could not otherwiſe regard ſuch a ſtep, than as an act of hoſtility, and an open rupture; and he ſhould conſider himſelf as juſtly authorized to employ the means, which God had put into his power, for the defence of his dominions[1]. CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

THE king of Pruſſia now began openly to oppoſe the proceedings of the empreſs of Ruſſia with regard to Sweden. He declared, that he conſidered peace and union, among the princes of Europe, as the greateſt happineſs to which they could aſpire; and he had, therefore, greatly rejoiced, to ſee the foundations of it laid at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the contracting parties in the late treaty of peace. There was nothing, he ſaid, wanting, in order to render this happineſs univerſal, but the diſperſion of the clouds which ſeemed to be gathering in the North. He had endeavoured to prevent their effects; but thoſe clouds were ſtill lowring, and the extraordinary movements made in the dominions of ſome neighbouring powers, the armaments and preparations which they were carrying on, ſufficiently proved that thoſe powers were filled with great apprehenſions reſpecting the interruption of the public tranquillity. In ſuch a ſtate of things, the king thought it neceſſary that he ſhould put his army in a condition to act, in order to keep

[1] London Mag. for the year 1749, p. 483.

at

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

at a diſtance all thoſe unforeſeen dangers, which might diſturb the repoſe of his faithful ſubjects[m]. After making this public declaration, the king of Pruſſia alſo wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Great Britain, in which he obſerved to him, that his Britannick majeſty's intereſt and his own were the ſame with regard to the tranquillity of the North; and, therefore, he hoped that his Britannick majeſty would concur with him in adopting ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for the preſervation of peace. He complained of the threatenings that had been thrown out by the court of Peterſburgh againſt Sweden, and took notice of the ſuſpicions that were entertained of the deſigns of the Swediſh court, which he ſtated to be ill grounded. Of the dangerous projects which had been imputed to Sweden againſt her neighbours, he remarked, that his Britannick majeſty's "diſcernment was "too quick, not to perceive the falſity of it at "the very firſt glance;" and with reſpect to the ſuppoſed deſign of changing the preſent form of government in Sweden, he thought that the declaration lately made on that ſubject, by the prince ſucceſſor and the ſenate, was ſufficiently ſatisfactory. He obſerved farther, that he had lately made a defenſive alliance with Sweden, to which France had acceded; but that alliance, he ſaid, did not turn upon innovations. It obliged, however, both the court of France, and himſelf, to maintain the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in

[m] London Mag. for 1749, p. 143.

Sweden,

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

Sweden, and mutually to defend themſelves againſt any that would attack them. He beought his Britannick majeſty to employ his credit and good offices, in order to bring Ruſſia and Sweden to ſuch eclairciſſements, as might prove equally ſalutary to both; and he was, he ſaid, perſuaded, that his moſt-Chriſtian majeſty, who had the peace of Europe, and the tranquillity of the North, as much at heart as their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties, would powerfully contribute to maintain it by uniting his efforts with theirs[a]. An ambaſſador extraordinary was afterwards ſent to Peterſburgh from the king of Great-Britain, who declared to the empreſs's miniſter, that in caſe of a rupture between Ruſſia and Sweden, occaſioned by the hoſtilities commenced by the former power, his Britannick majeſty would conſider Ruſſia as the aggreſſor, and the empreſs could not expect that he ſhould ſupply her with the ſuccours, which he was engaged by treaty to furniſh for her defence, in caſe ſhe ſhould be attacked. The miniſters of France and Pruſſia alſo gave the empreſs to underſtand, that they ſhould punctually fulfil their engagements with the court of Stockholm, if the Ruſſian troops ſhould enter the Swediſh territories of Finland. After ſome farther repreſentations, the empreſs declared herſelf ſatisfied with reſpect to Sweden; but ſhe was extremely diſpleaſed with the conduct of the king of Pruſſia on this occaſion, and with the ſtyle of

[a] Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 174, 175.

his

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

his memorials; and from this time the czarina and her miniſters, appear to have conceived a great and laſting animoſity againſt him.

If a deſign was really formed at this time to deprive the Swedes of their liberties, which is not improbable, the ſcheme appears to have been fruſtrated by the interpoſition of Ruſſia, and the vigilance of the Swediſh ſenate; and, perhaps, partly by the temper of the prince ſucceſſor, who, though he might be prevailed upon to engage in ſuch a project, ſeems to have been of too mild a temper to proſecute it with firmneſs. But a ſimilar ſcheme has ſince been ſucceſsfully put in execution, by a ſon of the then prince-royal of Sweden, and of Ulrica, ſiſter to the king of Pruſſia; and the form of government which is now eſtabliſhed in Sweden is in a very high degree deſpotic [E]. It appears

[E] Mr. Coxe has endeavoured to ſhew, that the preſent government of Sweden is not deſpotic, and that "his Swediſh majeſty, though now poſſeſſed of very great prerogatives, is yet in many important inſtances a limited monarch." *Travels into Poland, Ruſſia, Sweden, &c.* vol. II. p. 369. But the reaſonings of this ingenious writer upon this ſubject appear to me to be extremely unſatisfactory; and I cannot, with him, applaud "the judicious and ſpirited conduct of his preſent majeſty" of Sweden, in the revolution of 1772. On the contrary, by that tranſaction, the liberties of the Swediſh nation, which the king had ſworn in the moſt ſolemn manner to maintain, were ſo completely over-turned, that, in my apprehenſion, it deſerves to be ſpoken of in terms very different from thoſe of approbation and applauſe. It is true, that there are ſome limitations

extremely unfavourable to the intereſts ſtates, that their princes ſhould intermarry

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

of the power of the king ſtated, in the articles of
it Swediſh conſtitution; but theſe limitations are
orm, than in reality. The king of Sweden, Mr.
erves, can make no new laws by his own autho-
ſe conſtitution now ſtands; but if he cannot make
, the Swedes have no ſecurity againſt his acting
law. He is not to levy new taxes without con-
e ſtates, and obtaining their conſent; but the pre-
are made perpetual, he enjoys a fixed revenue,
ſo entire diſpoſal of the public money; and if the
ye invaded, he may levy new taxes by his own

overaments, excepting thoſe in the Eaſt, are poſ-
power ſo entirely unlimited, as Mr. Coxe ſuppoſes
weden ſhould, in order to give it a juſt title to the
tion of deſpotic. Upon an accurate inquiry it will
that there are ſome limitations of the power of the
on in France and in Turkey. But the king of
by the preſent conſtitution, has the ſole power of
; and diſſolving the ſtates, and is not obliged to
hem at any ſtated period; and he has the entire
f the army, the navy, and of all employments civil
ry. By the new conſtitution a ſenate is, indeed,
, conſiſting of ſeventeen members, comprehend-
reat officers of the crown, and the governor of
; and they are required to give their advice in all
of the ſtate, WHENEVER THE KING SHALL
IT. But though they are obliged to give their
is not obliged to follow it, unleſs it be agreeable
n inclinations. In ſome few inſtances, however,
ociations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king
o follow the opinion of the ſenators, in caſe they
nous. But, as Mr. Coxe himſelf obſerves, "as
rcely poſſible that ſeventeen ſenators, appointed,

and

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

marry in the families of deſpotic monarchs. Such connections tend too much to increaſe that propenſity to aggrandize their power, which is natural to princes. The influence of wives, and of mothers, is well known to be conſiderable; and ſuch marriages may afford plauſible pretexts to deſpotic ſovereigns, to interfere in conteſts between free ſtates and their princes; which is not often likely to prove beneficial to the rights of mankind.

"and removable, by his majeſty, ſhould be unanimous in "their oppoſition to him, we may fairly allow the king to "have the command of the ſenate."

Mr. Coxe, however, ſuppoſes, that as the Swediſh conſtitution now ſtands, "emergencies muſt occur, which may "render it neceſſary to convene" the aſſembly of the ſtates. But theſe emergencies may occur very ſeldom; and, when they do, be productive of very little effect. As the preſent king, ſince the revolution of 1772, aſſembles the ſtates only when he pleaſes, he was near ſix years, after that event, before he aſſembled them again. They then began to make ſome oppoſition to his adminiſtration. What was the reſult? He ſummoned the ſtates to the palace, made them a ſpeech, diſſolved them, and they have not been ſuffered to aſſemble ſince.

Under ſuch a form of government, no real conſtitutional freedom can be enjoyed by the ſubjects of it; and, therefore, notwithſtanding the apparent limitations of the power of the king, the preſent government of Sweden may juſtly be conſidered as in a high degree deſpotic. The former conſtitution of the Swediſh government had in it conſiderable defects; but it is greatly to be regretted, that a brave and reſpectable nation, as the Swedes are, ſhould not have found means to remedy thoſe defects, without ſubmitting to ſuch an exorbitant extenſion of the power of their prince, as has ſcarcely left them even the ſhadow of liberty.

IN

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

In the year 1749, the celebrated mareſchal count de SAXE paid a viſit to the king of Pruſſia at Potſdam. The merits of this great general were well known to Frederick, who received him with all the honours due to his rank and military talents, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction at having ſo illuſtrious a viſitor. Count Algarotti, who was at Potſdam at the time, ſpeaking of the interview between the king and the mareſchal, ſays, "It put us in mind of the meeting of SCIPIO and HANNIBAL [*]. Frederick exerciſed ſome of his troops before count Saxe, and was particularly ſolicitous to exhibit the excellencies of his cavalry, which had been trained and greatly improved under his own directions [F]. He

[*] Letters military and political, p. 19.

[F] The Pruſſian cavalry had been greatly improved by the attention and care of general SEIDLITZ, who was a brave, experienced, and ſkilful officer; but much of their excellence they derived from the king himſelf, and from improvements in their diſcipline and exerciſe which he ſuggeſted. Count Algarotti informs us, that, among other refinements in diſcipline, it was one day propoſed to ſome of the cavalry officers, of the moſt conſummate ſkill in their profeſſion, to march a large body of horſe towards an enemy quite in a new manner. The enemy were to be ſuppoſed in ſight, but little either to the right or to the left. The common method is to wheel a quarter of a circle, and march ſtraight forward; then, as ſoon as they are in a line with him, to wheel the other quarter of a circle, and again march forward. Theſe frequent wheelings, and expoſing the flanks to the enemy, did not pleaſe the king. He wanted them to march obliquely, to croſs over the ſhorteſt way towards the enemy, and, what is of the utmoſt conſequence, not to ſhew their

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

'He manœuvred,' ſays Algarotti, 'the ſquadron of guards before the count, which, at one time, drawn up cloſe, exhibited the appearance of a rock; at another, that of a cloud, ſcattered along the plain.'—'The beauty of it was, that, in the charge on full gallop, one horſe's head was not a foot beyond another. The line was ſo exactly ſtraight, that Euclid himſelf could not have found fault with it.'—'The count obſerving the regularity and ſpirit, the agility and ſteadineſs, of the manœuvres of the Pruſſian cavalry, could not refrain himſelf from paying ſeveral compliments

their flank to him. This being propoſed to ſome old officers, it did not meet with their approbation. Why? Becauſe, they ſaid, it was a thing that had never either been done, or thought of. "It has been thought of," ſaid the king, "and it ſhall be done." The horſemen, it was ſaid, muſt all be taken to the riding-ſchool, and drilled for the purpoſe. "They ſhall," ſaid the king. It was then added, that the horſes muſt be drilled too. "So ſhall the horſes," replied Frederick. It was then obſerved, that ſeveral would get broken limbs before they would be able to perform this manœuvre. "What ſignifies that," ſaid the king, "if it ſhould be the means of gaining a victory?"—'The experiment was tried,' ſays Algarotti, 'firſt with a few, afterwards with a larger number; and ſucceeded ſo well, that, not long after, I ſaw ſeveral ſquadrons traverſe a piece of ground, that was none of the ſmoothest, with as much eaſe as a Spaniſh *genet* would caper from one ſide of the riding-ſchool to the other.' *Letters military and political*, p. 224, 225.

P Letters military and political, p. 5, 6.

'to

its inſtitutor; which could not have been CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.
ſy diſpleaſing to him[q].

ARESCHAL SAXE continued ſome time at
dam; and, during his ſtay there, the king
he met at leaſt twice a day, at dinner and
per, in the palace of SANS-SOUCI. Frede-
k ſometimes uſed to ſend for his gueſt and his
in, in open carriages, beautifully ornamented;
on which it was remarked, that the king had
ged rightly, in putting the mareſchal and his
in into triumphal chariots. In anſwer to this
ervation, it was replied by the count de Frize,
o was one of the mareſchal's train, "We are
greatly obliged to his majeſty; but, happily,
we are in a place where thoſe chariots are in
plenty[r]."

Count Algarotti ſays, 'I have often heard the
ing and the mareſchal diſcourſe on military
opics, at the entertainments given by his ma-
eſty, where I might be ſaid *epulis accumbere*
divûm, and ſeemed to be attending at Petrarch's
TRIUMPH OF FAME. The moſt eminent com-
manders paſſed in review before them; and I
may ſay, with truth, that their merits were
very nicely ſcrutinized. They ſometimes diſ-
cuſſed the different orders of battle; among
which they did not forget the COLUMN. They
agreed, as far as I can remember, that ſuch
an order was rather calculated for defence,

[q] Letters military and political, p. 19.
[r] Ibid. p. 20.

than

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

'than for acting offenſively; that the only occa-
'ſion on which it can attack with any proſpect
'of ſucceſs, is when the enemy is entrenched,
'as experience has frequently demonſtrated.
'The ſtrength of the column conſiſting in its
'bulk and ſolidity, in its weight and ſhock, it
'breaks through whatever ſtands in its way;
'and the enemy, who waits its attack in the
'trenches, gives it an opportunity of acting with
'all its advantages. Having forced its way into
'one part or more of the enemy's lines, it divides
'them into two or more bodies, and prevents
'them from joining or ſupporting each other:
'but, when engaged in the open field, which
'will oftener happen, the column, on account
'of its ſmall extent in front, may be ſurround-
'ed by the light-armed troops, and incloſed like
'the wedge of the antients, falling into the
'*forceps*. Though ſurrounded, it can, indeed,
'make head on all ſides, and defend itſelf ad-
'mirably; but yet it loſes the advantage of at-
'tacking, which ſhould always be the object of
'a commander, when his force will admit of
'it.'—'From all which, the count concluded,
'that his friend FOLARD [G] was wrong, in
'thinking the column the moſt perfect and ſuc-
'ceſsful military order in all caſes, and in every
'ſituation.' "But he was not wrong," ſaid the king, "in his prognoſtic reſpecting count SAXE,

[G] Count SAXE had received inſtructions in the military art from the chevalier FOLARD, celebrated for his treatiſes on the art of war, who had predicted the future eminence of his pupil.

"when

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1749.

'when in the defender of Crachnick he fore-'saw the conqueror of Flanders[s].'"

WHEN mareſchal Saxe departed from Potſdam, the king, at taking leave of him, preſented him with his picture, and a ſnuff box, richly ſet with diamonds[t]. This great general, who was in full health at the time of his viſiting the king of Pruſſia, and poſſeſſed of a very robuſt conſtitution, lived only to the next year. He was carried off, by a putrid fever, after an illneſs of nine days, on the 30th of November, 1750, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. The French king ſent M. de Senac, his firſt phyſician, to attend him in his illneſs. That gentleman was greatly attached to count SAXE, and had followed him in four campaigns. The mareſchal met death with the utmoſt fortitude; but ſaid to his friend the phyſician, juſt before he expired, DOCTOR, LIFE IS BUT A DREAM; MINE HAS BEEN A FINE ONE, BUT IT HAS BEEN SHORT[u].

[s] Letters military and political, p. 21, 23.
[t] Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 334.
[u] Monthly Review, vol. LI. p. 515.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Repeated applications made by the king of Pruſſia to Voltaire, to induce him to quit France, and reſide at the court of Berlin.—Voltaire's arrival, and reception.—Diverſions and entertainments at the Pruſſian court.—Frederick's mode of living at this period.—Deſcription of the palace of Sans-Souci.—Methods adopted by the king for increaſing the population of his dominions.

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

THE king of Pruſſia, from the beginning of his reign, had been extremely deſirous to prevail on VOLTAIRE to quit France, and to ſettle in his dominions. He paid the king ſeveral viſits, and was extremely careſſed by him, but could not be induced to continue with him. Voltaire then chiefly reſided with the marchioneſs DU CHATELET, a lady of extraordinary accompliſhments, and of whom he has given the following account: 'The marchioneſs du 'Chatelet, of all the women in France, had a 'mind the moſt capable of the different branches 'of ſcience. Her father, the baron de Breteuil, 'had taught her Latin, which ſhe underſtood as 'perfectly as madame Dacier. She knew by 'heart the moſt beautiful paſſages of Horace, 'Virgil, and Lucretius. All the philoſophical 'works of Cicero were familiar to her. Her 'prevailing taſte was for mathematics and for 'metaphyſics. Seldom has there been united, 'in the ſame perſon, ſo much juſtneſs of diſ-

'cernment,

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

'cernment, and elegance of taſte, with ſo ardent 'a deſire of information. But, notwithſtanding 'her love of literature, ſhe was not the leſs fond 'of the world, and of thoſe amuſements which 'were adapted to her age and ſex. She deter-'mined, however, to quit them all, and to go 'and bury herſelf in an old ruinous chateau, 'upon the borders of Champagne and Lorraine, 'and ſituated in a barren and unhealthy ſoil. 'This old chateau ſhe ornamented, and embel-'liſhed with agreeable gardens. I built a gal-'lery, and provided a fine apparatus for philo-'ſophical experiments. We had alſo a nume-'rous library.'—'I taught the Engliſh language 'to madame du Chatelet, who, in about three 'months, underſtood it as well as I did, and 'read Newton, Locke, and Pope, with the ſame 'eaſe. She learned Italian alſo with equal ex-'pedition. We read all the works of Taſſo and 'Arioſto together.'—'At Cirey we cultivated 'all the arts. It was there I compoſed Alzira, 'Merope, the Prodigal Son, and Mahomet. It 'was for her uſe I wrote an Eſſay on Univerſal 'Hiſtory, from the age of Charlemagne to the 'preſent[a].'

In one of Voltaire's letters to the king of Pruſſia, in anſwer to one preſſing him to come and reſide at his court, he agreed to pay him a viſit: but 'I gave him to underſtand,' ſays he, 'that I could not come to ſtay with him; that I

[a] Mémoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même, p. 2, 3, 4, 7.

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

'conſidered it as a duty to prefer friendſhip to 'ambition; that I was attached to madame du 'Chatelet; and that, between philoſophers, I 'loved a lady better than a king. He approved 'of the liberty I took, though, for his own part, 'he did not love the ladies [b].'

THE marchioneſs du Chatelet died at Luneville, the palace of king Staniſlaus, whither Voltaire had accompanied her, in the year 1749; and, after that event, the king of Pruſſia renewed his ſolicitations to him, to come and reſide at his court. Voltaire, however, went firſt to Paris, and ſtarted ſome objections againſt quitting France for Pruſſia. One of his objections was againſt the climate of Berlin, which he alledged to be rigorous and intemperate. Algarotti, D'Argens, and La Méttrie, were deſired by the king to write to him, to remove his apprehenſions upon that head. Darget, who was a Frenchman, and then the king's ſecretary, added to their letters a certificate in verſe, which was accompanied by two melons, gathered in the month of June, in the gardens of Potſdam [c]. From Paris Voltaire went to Compiegne, where the French court then was; and, after a ſhort ſtay there, reſolved to proceed to the Pruſſian court. But he previouſly went to Holland, and from thence to Cleves. He had thrown out

[b] Mémoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même, Lond. 1784, p. 42, 43.

[c] Life of Voltaire, written by the marquis de Villette, and tranſlated from the French by Mr. Monke, 8vo. 1787, p. 168.

ſome

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

ſome intimations to the king of Pruſſia about the expences of his journey; and Frederick had ordered his banker at Paris to pay into his hands ſixteen thouſand livres to defray them. When he arrived at Cleves, M. Raesfeld, the Pruſſian reſident there, had alſo orders to provide him with horſes, and the king's carriages, to convey him to Berlin[d]. Frederick received him with great joy; and inſiſted upon his living at Potſdam, in one of the fineſt apartments of the palace, and the ſame which had been occupied by mareſchal Saxe. The king provided him with a table and equipages; the royal cooks, and royal coachmen, were always at his command; and Darget, the king's ſecretary, was directed to take care, that he ſhould want nothing that could render his life pleaſant and agreeable[e].

Some time after Voltaire's arrival at Potſdam, he received a letter from his niece, in which ſhe ſtrongly diſſuaded him from continuing at the Pruſſian court. This letter was communicated to Frederick; and Voltaire himſelf alſo threw out ſome doubts, whether his felicity, and his freedom, would not be diminiſhed by his continuing at Potſdam. This occaſioned the king, who then reſided in the upper apartments of the palace, over thoſe of Voltaire, to ſend down to him the following letter, which was dated the twenty-third of Auguſt, 1750.

[d] Life of Voltaire, by the marquis de Villette, ut ſupra, p. 170.

[e] Ibid. p. 171.

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1750.

'I have ſeen the letter which your niece wrote 'to you from Paris. The friendſhip that ſhe 'expreſſes for you commands my eſteem. I 'ſhould think as ſhe does, if I were madame 'Denis; but being what I am, I think other-'wiſe. It would give me the moſt extreme con-'cern, if I thought myſelf the cauſe of making 'my enemy wretched; and how then could I 'deſire the unhappineſs of a man, whom I 'eſteem, whom I love, and who, for my ſake, 'has given up his country, and whatever has 'been thought dear among men? No, my dear 'Voltaire, if I could foreſee that your continu-'ing to live in this country, would turn in the 'ſmalleſt degree to your diſadvantage, I ſhould 'be the firſt to diſſuade you from it. I ſhould 'prefer your happineſs to the extreme pleaſure 'that I have in your company. But you are a 'philoſopher, and ſo am I: what can be more 'natural, more ſimple, and more proper, than 'that thoſe philoſophers who are formed to live 'together, who are united by the ſame ſtudies, 'the ſame taſte, and the ſame manner of think-'ing, ſhould give themſelves that ſatisfaction? 'I reſpect you as my maſter in eloquence and 'in learning, and I love you as a virtuous 'friend. What ſlavery, what unhappineſs, 'what change, what inconſtancy of fortune, is 'to be dreaded in a country where you are as 'highly valued as in your own, and with a 'friend who has a grateful heart! I have not 'the fooliſh preſumption to think Berlin equal

'to

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

'to Paris. If riches, grandeur, and magnificence, make a city agreeable, Berlin muſt yield 'to Paris. If there be a particular place to be 'found in the world, where fine taſte more generally prevails, I know, and I allow that it is 'Paris. But do not you carry that taſte with 'you wherever you go? We have powers ſufficient to praiſe your merits, and as to ſentiment, 'we will not yield to any country upon earth. 'I reſpected the friendſhip which attached you 'to madame du Chatelet; but, after her, I am 'one of your oldeſt friends. What! becauſe 'you conſent to retire to my houſe, ſhall it be 'ſaid that this houſe will become your priſon? 'Shall I become your tyrant, becauſe I am your 'friend? I confeſs to you, that I do not underſtand that logic; and I am firmly perſuaded, 'that you will be happy here as long as I live; 'that you will be looked upon as the father of 'letters, and of men of taſte; and that you will 'find every conſolation in me, which a man of 'your merit can expect from one who eſteems 'him.'

THIS letter ſeems to have determined Voltaire to continue to reſide at Potſdam. But he deſired the Pruſſian monarch, to aſk the conſent of the French king to his quitting his own country, which Frederick accordingly did by his miniſter at Verſailles. Lewis XV. gave his conſent, but with ſome apparent reluctance and diſguſt.

[f] Commentaire Hiſtorique ſur les Oeuvres de l'Auteur de la Henriade, Baſil, 1776, p. 54, 55, 56.

Frederick

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

Frederick now made Voltaire one of his chamberlains, conferred on him the order of merit, and gave him a contract, by which he bound himſelf to pay to him a penſion of twenty thouſand livres, or eight hundred guineas a year.

After Voltaire's arrival, a variety of entertainments were exhibited at the Pruſſian court. Among others was a very ſplendid tournament, which was performed in the garden of the palace of Berlin, and the preparations for which were extremely magnificent. Oppoſite to the end of the courſe, a gallery was erected for the king, the queen, the queen dowager, the princes and princeſſes, and their attendants; and under it another for the princeſs Amelia, who was to diſtribute the prizes, and four judges, who were appointed to determine on whom the prizes ſhould be conferred. On each ſide of the courſe was erected a ſpacious building, in the form of an amphitheatre; one of which was for the nobility, and the other for the magiſtrates and citizens of Berlin. The whole courſe was illuminated by ſeveral thouſand lamps of different colours. The knights were divided into four ſquadrons, one of which repreſented the Romans, another the Carthaginians, a third the Greeks, and the fourth the Perſians. Theſe ſquadrons had for their leaders, the prince of Pruſſia, prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and the margrave Charles. Each ſquadron conſiſted of ſixteen knights; and before each went a great number of ſervants, in proper habits, with

with led horſes, and a full band of muſic, adapted to the nation they were deſigned to repreſent. 'The magnificence of theſe knights,' ſays Bielfeld, 'as well as their leaders, ſurpaſſed 'all deſcription. On every ſide was ſeen the 'effulgence of ſilver, gold, brilliants, and other 'rich jewels of various colours; ſo that a more 'ſumptuous appearance cannot poſſibly be imagined. When they were drawn up in proper 'order, the ſignal was given; and the knights, 'as well as their leaders, contended for the prize 'with the utmoſt ardour, by running at the ring 'with their lances, and by attacking the head 'with their javelins, and their ſwords and piſtols, with amazing vigour and dexterity. 'Mareſchal Schwerin, mareſchal Kalckſtein, 'mareſchal Keith, and M. D'Arnimb, miniſter 'of ſtate, were the judges who determined the 'prizes, which the princeſs Amelia diſtributed[g].' Voltaire was ſo pleaſed with this entertainment, that he wrote on the ſpot the four following lines, which he preſented to the princeſs:

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

Jamais, dans la Grèce & dans Rome,
On ne vit de tels jeux, ni de plus dignes prix.
J'ai vu les Fils de Mars, ſous les traits de Paris,
Et Venus qui donnoit la pomme[h].

About this time Voltaire's tragedy of Rome sauvée was alſo exhibited at the palace of Potſdam, and ſome of the characters were performed

[g] Letters, vol. II. p. 63, 64. [h] Ibid. p. 65.

by

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1750.

by the Pruſſian princeſſes. At a rehearſal of this piece, ſome Pruſſian ſoldiers, who were ſelected to repreſent the Roman guards attendant on the ſenate, gave great offence to Voltaire by their manner of acting. They were well ſkilled in military manœuvres, but were very little acquainted with the evolutions of the theatre. Voltaire, who played Cicero, exclaimed aloud, and with an oath, that he had called for men, and they had ſent him Germans. "The princeſſes," ſays the marquis de Villette, "burſt "out a laughing, at the energy with which the "Roman orator expreſſed his impatience in "French[i].

As the king of Pruſſia's mode of living, though in many reſpects it was very uniform, yet appears not to have been always exactly the ſame, it may not be improper here to give ſome account of the manner in which he paſſed his time, about that period of his life to which we are now arrived.

IT was his general cuſtom to riſe at five o'clock in the morning, and ſometimes earlier [H]. He

[i] Life of Voltaire, tranſlated by Mr. Monke, p. 172, 173.

[H] The accounts given of his time of riſing in the morning do not exactly agree. The writer of the *Obſervations on the military eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia*, ſays, "Nothing can be more uniform than his private life. "He conſtantly riſes at four o'clock in the ſummer, and at "five in the winter." P. 6. But Voltaire ſays, in his *Idée du Roi de Pruſſe*, "He riſes every morning at five o'clock;" and in his *Memoirs*, "He roſe at five in the ſummer, and ſix "in

He commonly dreſſed his hair himſelf, and ſel- CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1752.
dom employed more than two minutes for that purpoſe. His boots were put on at his bed-ſide, for he ſcarcely ever wore ſhoes [1]. After he was

"in the winter." The fact ſeems to have been, that in the earlier part of his life, and when Voltaire was with him, when he accuſtomed himſelf to ſuppers, he went to bed later, and roſe later, than in the latter part of his life, when he wholly left off the practice of eating ſuppers. It is alſo ſaid that latterly, when he had ſometimes overſlept himſelf, he appeared much chagrined, and gave poſitive orders to his ſervants, that however drowſy he might be, and however reluctant he might ſeem to riſe, they ſhould not ſuffer him to ſleep after the clock had ſtruck four.

[1] Voltaire ſays, 'If you want to know the royal ceremonies when the king roſe, by whom he was attended, and what were the functions of his high almoner, his great chamberlain, the firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, and his gentleman ushers, I anſwer, a ſingle lacquey came to light his fire, dreſs, and ſhave him; though he partly dreſſed himſelf alone. His chamber was rather beautiful; a rich baluſtrade of ſilver, ornamented with little loves, of exceedingly good ſculpture, ſeemed to form the alcove of the ſtate-bed, the curtains of which were ſeen: but behind 'theſe curtains, inſtead of a bed, there was a library; and 'as to the royal-bed, it was compoſed of a ſtump bedſtead, 'without lacking, but croſs-corded, and a ſlight matraſs; 'the whole concealed by a ſcreen. Marcus Aurelius and 'Julian, the two greateſt men among the Romans, and apoſ-'tles of the Stoics, lay not on a harder couch.' *Mémoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même*, p. 73, 74.

In another place Voltaire ſays, 'He dreſſes his hair him-'ſelf, and does it very well. He never wears a night-cap, 'nor night-gown, nor ſlippers. He only wears an old 'greaſy linen cloak to powder himſelf in. During the whole 'year, he wears the uniform of the firſt battalion of his 'guards,

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

was dreſſed, the adjutant of the firſt battalion of his guards brought him a liſt of all the perſons that

'guards, which is blue, faced with red, with ſilver brande-'burghs; a plain yellow waiſtcoat; a hat with a white 'feather, and laced *de point d'Eſpagne*. He is the whole 'year in boots, for he cannot walk with ſhoes, nor wear his 'hat under his arm.' *Idée du Roi de Pruſſe, par M. de Voltaire*, 8vo. 1773, p. 7.

It has been ſaid, that three times in the year he had a new ſuit of the uniform of the firſt battalion of his guards; and he ſometimes had a ſplendid ſuit on extraordinary occaſions. But, in the latter part of his life, he appears to have been much more frugal in the article of dreſs. One writer ſays, 'He is uſually dreſſed in a plain ſuit of regimentals, and in 'boots. His uniform conſiſts of a blue coat, faced with red, 'and a yellow waiſtcoat and breeches. As he is a great 'œconomiſt in dreſs, his cloaths are commonly old and 'ſhabby; and he wears no other mark of diſtinction than 'the order of the black eagle. He is by no means nice 'about his boots, and he does not often allow himſelf a new 'pair; ſo that in general they are rather of a dirty brown, 'than of a black colour. Now and then, though very rarely, 'on grand feſtivals, he appears in an embroidered ſuit of 'blue velvet. This, with one, or, at the moſt, two ſuits 'of regimentals, conſtitutes the whole of his wardrobe. His 'hair is always cued, and careleſsly twiſted into a ſingle 'buckle at the ſides. He takes a great deal of Spaniſh ſnuff, 'and makes uſe of a large and very rich ſnuff box. I never 'ſaw a perſon make a more military appearance than this 'prince does on horſeback; and it is eaſy, even through 'the negligence of his apparel, to diſtinguiſh the warrior.' *Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, with an account of his private life*, &c. written by an officer of diſtinction in the French ſervice, who ſpent a conſiderable time in Pruſſia, publiſhed at Leipſic in 1778, and tranſlated into Engliſh in 1780, p. 6.

When

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

that were arrived at Potſdam, or departed from thence, and an account of whatever had occurred in the garriſon. When he had delivered his orders to this officer, he retired into an inner cabinet, where he employed himſelf in private

When Dr. Moore was at Potſdam, he was ſhewn the apartments of the palace, and the king's wardrobe, of which he has given the following account. 'The palace at POTSDAM, or what they call the caſtle, is a very noble building, with magnificent gardens adjacent. I ſhall not trouble you with a deſcription of either: only it ſtruck me as a thing rather uncommon in a palace, to find the ſtudy by far the fineſt apartment in it. The ornaments of this are of maſſy ſilver. The writing-deſk, the embelliſhments of the table, and the accommodations for the books, were all in fine taſte. The perſon who attended us, aſked if we had any deſire to ſee his majeſty's wardrobe? On being anſwered in the affirmative, he conducted us to the chamber where his majeſty's clothes are depoſited. It had a very different appearance from his library. The whole wardrobe conſiſted of two blue coats, faced with red, the lining of one a little torn; two yellow waiſtcoats, a good deal ſoiled with Spaniſh ſnuff; three pair of yellow breeches, and a ſuit of blue velvet, embroidered with ſilver, for grand occaſions. I imagined at firſt, that the man had got a few of the king's old clothes, and kept them here to amuſe ſtrangers; but, upon inquiry, I was aſſured, that what I have mentioned, with two ſuits of uniform, which he has at Sans-Souci, form the entire wardrobe of the king of Pruſſia. Our attendant ſaid, he had never known it more compleat. As for the velvet ſuit, it was about ten years of age, and ſtill enjoyed all the vigour of youth. Indeed, if the moths ſpared it as much as his majeſty has done, it may laſt the age of Methuſalem.' *View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany*, vol. II. p. 118, 119, 120, edit. 1786.

till

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

till ſeven o'clock. He then went into another apartment, where he drank coffee, or chocolate; and here he found upon the table all the letters addreſſed to him from Potſdam, Berlin, or any other parts of his dominions. Foreign letters were placed upon a ſeparate table. After reading all theſe letters, he wrote hints or notes in the margin of thoſe which his ſecretaries were to anſwer; and then returning into the inner cabinet, carried with him ſuch as he meant to write or dictate an anſwer to himſelf. Here he employed himſelf till nine o'clock with one of his private ſecretaries. He then returned back again into the former apartment, where he was attended by three ſecretaries, each of whom gave him an account of what he had done: after which the king delivered his orders to them, with the letters that they were to anſwer[k]. None of theſe anſwers, however, were ſent off, till they had been read, and many of them ſigned, by the king. At ten o'clock, the generals who were about his perſon, whom he was accuſtomed to ſend for in their turn, attended him in his cloſet, where he converſed with them on the news of the day, politics, tactics, and other ſubjects; and at this time he alſo gave audience to ſuch perſons as had received previous notice to attend. At eleven o'clock he mounted his horſe, and rode to the parade, where he reviewed and exerciſed his regiment of guards; and "at the ſame hour," ſays Voltaire, "all the

[k] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment of the King of Pruſſia, with an account of his private life, &c. p. 6, 7, 8.

"colonels

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

"colonels did the ſame throughout the provin-
"ces." He afterwards walked for ſome time in the garden, with his generals, and the reſt of the company whom he had invited to dine with him. At one o'clock he ſat down to dinner, and his company generally conſiſted of the princes his brothers, ſome of his general officers, ſome of the officers of his regiment of guards, and one or two of his chamberlains. He had no carver, but did the honours of the table himſelf, like a private gentleman. His table generally conſiſted of twenty-four covers [x]; and his dinner-time did not much exceed

[x] Voltaire ſays, 'The kitchen expence of his table is 'ſettled at thirty-three German dollars a day, (or about five 'Engliſh guineas.) For that ſum he has twenty-four diſhes 'every day, ſixteen at dinner and eight at ſupper. No more 'than twenty-four covers are ever laid at noon, and eight at 'night, unleſs upon ſome extraordinary occaſion. If there 'are more than twenty four covers, the overplus is paid at 'a dollar per cover to the perſon who has undertaken to fur-'niſh the kitchen. For example: at the wedding-feaſt of 'prince Henry, all the covers which exceeded the uſual 'number were paid for only at the rate of a dollar per cover, 'excepting the large ſea fiſh and the game, which the king 'paid for ſeparately. Out of the three and thirty dollars 'the contractor furniſhes the wood and coals, the kitchen 'furniture and linen, and whatever relates to the kitchen, 'excepting the wages of the cooks, which are paid by the 'king himſelf. He keeps four cooks; a Frenchman, an 'Italian, a Pruſſian, and an Auſtrian. Each of them dreſſes 'him four diſhes at dinner, and two at ſupper, whether he is 'at home, or not. He entertains the officers of the firſt bat-'talion of his guards the year round. One day they have 'beer,

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

exceed an hour. After dinner, he generally converſed with ſome of his gueſts for about a quarter of an hour, walking about the room. He then retired into his private apartment, making low bows to his company. It was ſo much his practice to make very low bows, even when no perſons were preſent but his own attendants, that Voltaire remarks, that it was thought to have made him ſtoop in the ſhoul-

'beer, and the next a pint of wine a head. Every day, at 'noon, he treats alſo the officers of the two other battalions 'of his guards with three large diſhes of meat boiled or roaſt-'ed, and with bread and beer. It is a kind of luncheon, or 'whet, for thoſe who chooſe to partake of it; and the price 'of this is likewiſe regularly ſettled.' *Idée du Roy de Pruſſe*, 'ut ſupra, p. 14, 16.

Voltaire farther informs us, that his houſhold conſiſted of 'eight pages, the ſame number of footmen, four running 'footmen, and ſix young men dreſſed in the Eaſtern manner 'all in roſe colour, with galloon lace. In all his own apart-'ments, in thoſe of the two queens, and of the princeſs 'Amelia, the furniture is alſo of a roſe colour, or a pale 'pink.' He adds, that his father was fond of hunting, and 'had a tolerable equipage for that purpoſe. But the preſent 'king, on his acceſſion to the throne, ordered his great 'huntſman, who was paſſionately fond of hunting, to ſell it. 'The great huntſman thereupon repreſented, that it would 'be advantageous to the king to continue to ſell the game as 'before; and he ventured to aſſure his majeſty, that by 'ſuppreſſing the chaſe he would loſe twenty thouſand dollars 'per annum. The king then ſaid, "I give you this mo-"ment the whole equipage; I alſo give you up all my game, "and the fiſhing in the rivers, and you ſhall pay me twenty "thouſand dollars a year." The unfortunate huntſman did 'not dare to refuſe the king's offer: he paid it till he had 'ruined himſelf, and till he had neither eſtate, nor game, 'nor fiſh left.' Ibid. p. 26, 28.

ders

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

...rs. He continued in private till five o'clock, ...hen his reader waited on him. That office ...as frequently performed by the marquis D'Ar...ns [L], and ſometimes by Darget, or Mettrie.

[L] JOHN BAPTIST DE BOYER, marquis D'Argens, was deſcended from a noble family, and born at ... in Provence, in the year 1704. He entered into the ...y when he was only fifteen years of age, contrary to the ...linations of his father, who intended him for the profeſ...n of the law; and ſome time after he formed a connection ...h an actreſs. He went through a variety of adventures ...his youth, of which he publiſhed an account in his *Me...*, which were printed in one volume, 12mo. He ac...mpanied the marquis de Chateaurenard to Algiers, Tunis, ...d Conſtantinople. On his return to France, having now ...itted the army, he applied himſelf for ſome time, by the ...ire of his father, to the ſtudy of the law, and became an ...vocate; but he was ſoon weary of the profeſſion, and in a ...rt time wholly abandoned it. He engaged in a number of ...rigues, and in gaming, and entered again into the army ...733. He was preſent at the ſiege of Kehl, where he was ...htly wounded in 1734; and at the ſiege of Philipſburgh ...had a fall from his horſe, by which he was very much ...rt, and ſoon after quitted the ſervice. He afterwards ...ne to Holland, where he publiſhed ſeveral of his works, ...ich appear to have recommended him to the notice of the ...g of Pruſſia, who invited him to his court, and made him ...e of his chamberlains, and a director of the royal academy ...ſciences. But, before he went to Berlin, which was in ...40, he had been one of the chamberlains to the ducheſs of ...ansberg; and when he quitted the ſervice of that prin...s, ſhe ſettled on him, as a mark of her regard, a penſion ...ſix hundred florins *per annum*.

The marquis D'Argens married at Berlin; and having ...mained about twenty-five years at the Pruſſian court, he ...turned again to France, and lived for ſome years at Aix, ...his

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

trie. His reading lasted about two hours, and this was succeeded by a concert, in which he himself was a performer upon the flute, and which lasted till nine. When the concert was over he was attended by VOLTAIRE, ALGAROTTI, MAUPERTUIS, or some other wits, or favourites, whom he had invited. With these he supped at half an hour after nine, and his company seldom consisted of more than eight persons, the king himself included. During the supper, and after great

his native place. He died at the country seat of his sister, the baroness de la Garde, near Toulon, in 1771. He is represented to have been a man of very agreeable manners, and in company he was much distinguished for the wit, vivacity, and gaiety of his conversation; but when not in company, he seems frequently to have been very low spirited; and he said of himself, that his opinions sometimes depended on the weather. His memory was remarkably tenacious, he understood several languages, and wrote with great ease and fluency, but without much strength. He was the author of many works, which were collected together, and published in twenty-four volumes, 12mo. in 1768. His most celebrated performance was his *Letters Juives*, which were translated into English, and published under the title of the *Jewish Spy*, in six volumes, 12mo. One of his pieces, which is a defence of the doctrine of materialism, was published in English, in 8vo. in 1749, under the title of "Man a Machine;" and another in two volumes, 12mo. under the title of "New Memoirs, establishing a true knowledge of "mankind." His works contain some just observations on the superstitions and absurdities of the church of Rome, and in favour of toleration; but these passages are mixed with others of a very different nature, unfavourable to divine revelation, and to the real interests of religion and morality; and many of the topics which he discusses, are treated in a very trifling and superficial manner.

freedom

freedom of converſation took place; and at twelve the king went to bed.

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

Of the royal ſuppers, and of his attendance on the king at this period, Voltaire gives the following account: 'Our ſuppers were very 'agreeable. I know not if I am deceived, but 'I think we had a great deal of wit. The king 'was witty, and gave occaſion to wit in others; 'and what is ſtill more extraordinary, I never 'found myſelf more at my eaſe. I worked 'two hours a day with his majeſty; I corrected 'all his works; and never failed to praiſe 'highly whatever was worthy of praiſe, though 'I rejected the droſs. I gave him details of 'all that was neceſſary in rhetoric, and in cri-'ticiſm, for his uſe. He profited by my in-'ſtructions, and his genius aſſiſted him ſtill 'more than my leſſons. I had no court to 'make, no viſits to pay, no duty to fulfil. I 'led a life of liberty; and had no idea of any 'ſituation more happy than that which I then 'enjoyed[1].' Of the converſation at the king's ſuppers, Voltaire ſays, 'Never was there a 'place in the world, where liberty of ſpeech 'was ſo fully indulged, or where the various 'ſuperſtitions of men were treated with ſo much 'ridicule and contempt. God was reſpected; 'but thoſe who in his name had impoſed upon 'mankind were not ſpared. Neither women, 'nor prieſts, ever entered the palace; and, in a

[1] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 111, 112.

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

'word, Frederick lived without a court, without 'a council, and without religion [m].'

In another place Voltaire, ſpeaking of Frederick's great officers of ſtate, and of his houſehold, ſays, 'He has a lord-chancellor, who ne'ver ſpeaks in council; a great huntſman, who 'dares not ſhoot a quail; a high-ſteward, who 'has nothing to order; a ſerjeant of the wine-'cellar, who does not know whether there is 'any wine in the cellar; a great maſter of the 'horſe, who has it not in his power to have a 'horſe ſaddled; a lord-chamberlain, who never 'gave him his ſhirt; and a great maſter of the 'wardrobe, who does not know the king's tay-'lor [n].' The functions of all theſe offices, he remarks, were executed by FREDERSTORFF; who was alſo valet de chambre in ordinary, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and cabinet ſecretary [o]. But though Frederick was attended with little ſtate at Sans-Souci, or Potſdam, yet Voltaire informs us, that when he was at Berlin, he made a great diſplay of magnificence on public days. 'It was a ſuperb ſpectacle,' ſays he, 'to ſee him at table, ſurrounded by 'twenty princes of the empire, ſerved in veſſels 'of gold, the richeſt in Europe, by two and 'thirty pages, and as many young heiduques, 'all ſplendidly dreſſed, and bearing diſhes of 'maſſy gold. The ſtate-officers were alſo em-

[m] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 79, 80.
[n] Idée du Roi de Pruſſe, p. 24, 25. [o] Id. ibid.

'ployed

ployed on theſe occaſions, though unknown at any other time[p].

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

The king himſelf chiefly reſided at Sans-ſouci; and of this palace the following deſcription is given by Bielfeld. 'This palace,' ſays he, 'ſtands but a cannon ſhot from the gates of Potſdam. It is ſituated on the ſummit of a hill, at the foot of which flows the river Hatel, which is there of a conſiderable breadth. As the king was walking one day over this hill, he ſtopt a little on the top of it; and being ſtruck with the beautiful and extenſive proſpect, he determined to erect a ſmall building here, which might ſerve as a caſual ſummer retreat; and his majeſty himſelf drew the firſt plan of it. This building, which was originally no more than a royal lodge, is now become a ſummer reſidence worthy of Frederick. This palace has only one ſtory, and is raiſed from the ground by three ſteps, which go round the whole building. The roof is in the Italian taſte: in the middle of it there is a ſmall dome, and it is ſurrounded by a ſtone balluſtrade, ornamented with a number of vaſes and groupes of children. The windows are lofty and circular, and continued quite down to the floor. The front next the garden is very richly ornamented.—The front next the country, where is the principal entrance, is adorned with fluted pillars of the Corinthian order. The two wings, which are on this ſide,

[p] Memoires, p. 87, 88.

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

'are connected by a double row of pillars, 'which form a colonnade, in the manner of that 'of St. Peter's at Rome. The inſide of this 'palace is extremely beautiful. Taſte and mag-'nificence every where accompany each other.' '—His majeſty's library is at the end of the pa-'lace, next his bed-chamber. It is of a circu-'lar form, and ſurrounded by book-caſes of 'cedar, curiouſly wrought and glazed, and de-'corated with feſtoons of gilt copper. Over 'theſe caſes are placed marble buſts of the moſt 'celebrated authors of antiquity.'—'The ſhelves 'are filled with a ſmall but rich collection, 'which forms a complete ſyſtem of every kind 'of uſeful and ornamental learning, among 'which are French tranſlations of the Greek 'and Roman claſſics; and ſuch antient authors 'of merit, of whom tranſlations have not been 'printed, his majeſty has cauſed to be tranſlated 'for his own uſe, and preſerved in manuſcript 'in this library [q].' The baron afterwards de-ſcribes the garden, of which he ſpeaks in very high terms, and which is decorated with fine ſtatues; and he adds, 'The king has not con-'tented himſelf with adorning his palace and 'gardens, with a magnificence truly royal, but 'he has likewiſe embelliſhed the face of the 'whole country around: ſo that wherever the 'eye turns, it is delighted by rich and pleaſing 'objects [r].'

[q] Lettres familières, tom. II. p. 330—335. [r] Ibid. p. 339.

ANOTHER

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1751.

ANOTHER writer ſays, 'The palace of SANS-SOUCI, which was built by his majeſty, is agreeably ſituated about a quarter of a league from Potſdam, on a riſing ground. It is a low building, the ſtyle of which is extremely ſimple. The apartments are judiciouſly laid out, and furniſhed with great taſte. In this palace here is an admirable gallery of pictures, in which the king has collected many capital performances of the moſt celebrated painters, particularly of thoſe of the Flemiſh ſchool. The gardens are ſpacious, and abound with ornaments, ſuch as ſtatues and vaſes. One part of them is ſet apart for the choiceſt and beſt fruit trees. No perſon is allowed to go to Sans-Souci, not even the royal family, without the king's ſpecial permiſſion[a].'

FREDERICK's attention to the embelliſhment his palaces, did not prevent him from attending to objects of greater national importance. e had, for ſome years preceding the preſent riod, adopted very judicious methods for inreaſing the population of his dominions; he ve liberal encouragement to all French Proſtants who would come and ſettle in his dominions; he expended large ſums in the clearing f waſte lands; he cauſed navigable canals to e made, which were highly beneficial to difrent parts of his dominions; and he peopled ne deſerts of Pomerania, by giving bounties to

[a] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the ing of Pruſſia, p. 17, 18.

great

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1752.

great numbers of induſtrious emigrants to ſettle in that province. More than ſixty new villages aroſe amidſt a barren waſte; and a numerous population, and ſucceſsful agriculture, were now exhibited on thoſe plains, which, before the acceſſion of Frederick, had been ſolitary and deſolate.

In the month of June, 1752, prince Henry, ſecond brother to the king of Pruſſia, was married to the princeſs Wilhelmina, of Heſſe Caſſel, the daughter of prince Maximilian. When the princeſs arrived at Charlottenburgh, Bielfeld ſays, "that the king went into the court before "the palace, and received her highneſs as ſhe "came out of the coach. The princeſs made "the king a compliment, which was at once "ſprightly and reſpectful; which his majeſty "anſwered by a very tender and affectionate "embrace[t]." After the marriage was ſolemnized, a variety of entertainments took place at the court, and at Berlin; and Italian operas, French comedies, illuminations, and fire-works, were exhibited.

[t] Letters, vol. II. p. 83, 84.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Miſunderſtanding between the king and Voltaire.—The latter involved in a law-ſuit with a Jew.—The king interferes in an academical diſpute between Maupertuis and Koenig.—Voltaire ſupports the cauſe of the latter, in oppoſition to the king.—A ſatirical piece againſt Maupertuis, written by Voltaire, publickly burnt at Berlin.—Voltaire quits Berlin, and is arreſted at Frankfort.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

WE have ſeen, in the preceding chapter, that the king of Pruſſia had been ſucceſsful, in what was long the object of his aim, procuring Voltaire to reſide with him at the court of Berlin. But the harmony between them was not of very long continuance. When Voltaire had been nearly two years at the Pruſſian court, a miſunderſtanding took place, which ended in an open rupture, and a total ſeparation. To this ſeveral cauſes appear to have contributed. Frederick is ſaid to have been diſguſted, at the extreme familiarity with which Voltaire behaved to him in public; and as Voltaire's turn was highly ſarcaſtic, and his powers of ridicule ſometimes employed even againſt the king himſelf, this alſo was probably a ſource of offence [M]. A law-ſuit, in which Voltaire happened

[M] Voltaire himſelf ſays, "I felt how diſpleaſing my "free ſpirit muſt be, to a king more abſolute than the Great "Turk." Memoirs, p. 141.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

pened to be involved with a Jew, is ſtated likewiſe to have extremely exaſperated Frederick againſt him. When the peace of Dreſden was concluded, it was ſtipulated, that all the ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia, who were intereſted in the Saxon funds, ſhould be exactly paid. A very diſhonourable uſe of this ſtipulation was made by ſome of the Pruſſians, by trading in what were called bills of the *ſtaire*; and Voltaire was charged with being concerned in this traffic. The *ſtaire*, or *ſteur*, was a bank eſtabliſhed at Dreſden; and the elector of Saxony had thrown into circulation ſo great a number of bills upon this bank, that they could no longer find payment, and loſt half their value. The Saxons had for a long time made uſe of them in their trade; and Holland, Germany, and Pruſſia, were over-run with them. But after the treaty of Dreſden, as the elector of Saxony was obliged, by that treaty, to pay the full amount of all the bills in the hands of Pruſſian ſubjects, many of the Pruſſians bought up theſe bills very cheap, and were paid for them at their original value. The king of Pruſſia himſelf, it is ſaid, highly diſapproved of this traffick: and remarked, that his couſin Auguſtus had made a miſtake [N], but that

[N] The king's meaning ſeems to have been, that Auguſtus had been guilty of an overſight, in not having ſtipulated, that the bills of which the Pruſſian ſubjects were to be paid the full value, ſhould be thoſe only of which they were actually poſſeſſed, at the time when the treaty was made.

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CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

ought not to take advantage of it[1]. Voltaire employed a Jew, whose name was Herscheld, to negociate at Leipsic, as his friends by bills of exchange to the amount of ten thousand crowns: but the enemies of Voltaire gave him, that the Jew was employed in negociating, him, bills of the *staire*; and this information as communicated to the king. As Voltaire as always extremely attentive to the accumulation of money, it is not improbable that he ight engage in this traffic. However that be, law-suit took place between him and the Jew, hich made a great noise at Berlin. When the w was at Leipsic, he had sent Voltaire, as a curity for his bills of exchange, some diaonds which had belonged to Chasot, a French ficer in the Prussian service, and which had en given to that officer by the duchess of ecklenburgh. But Voltaire was informed, at the diamonds were not really the property Herscheld, and that he was not a man to trusted. He, therefore, recalled him from ipsic, and ordered him to desist from engagg any more in his negociations. On Herscld's return to Berlin, he charged two hunred crowns for the ordinary expences of his urney, which Voltaire paid; but the Jew also ade an additional charge of five hundred owns for extra expences, which Voltaire reused to pay. It is also said, that the Jew re-

[1] Villette's Life of Voltaire, translated by Mr. Monke, 180.

fused

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

fuſed to take back the diamonds, alledging, that Voltaire had taken out ſome large ſtones, and ſubſtituted a number of ſmaller in their ſtead. Voltaire then exhibited a charge againſt him in one of the Pruſſian courts, and the Jew was impriſoned. The affair now began to excite the attention of the public, and a law-ſuit took place, which was ſeveral months before it was terminated. The king, who, from the repreſentations that had been made to him, had formed a very unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Voltaire in this buſineſs, ſignified to his chancellor Cocceius, that he ſhould not in the leaſt interfere in the affair, but left it entirely to be determined by the judges. Voltaire then applied to Maupertuis, and deſired him to recommend his cauſe to monſ. Jarriges, one of the judges. This Maupertuis refuſed, ſaying, that "he could not interfere in a black affair." The king at length became ſo much exaſperated at the buſineſs, and probably at ſome other circumſtances in the conduct of Voltaire, that he called for his ſecretary Darget, and directed him to write to Voltaire, that he inſiſted on his quitting his dominions in twenty-four hours. Darget, ſurprized at this order, heſitated, and deſired the king to repeat his order a ſecond time. Frederick himſelf then ſeemed to cool a little, and aſked Darget what he thought of the buſineſs. Darget replied, "Sire, you have "called him to your court. The perſons ap- "pointed to try his cauſe are upon the point "of

"of judging him. If he be found guilty, you "will then have time enough to diſmiſs him." The king pauſed for a moment, and then ſaid to Darget, "You are right: you are an honeſt "man [b]."

In a few days after, the cauſe was determined, and it was determined in Voltaire's favour. The impriſonment of the Jew was declared to be lawful; he was condemned to refund the bills of exchange, to take back the diamonds, and to pay a fine of ten crowns. The queſtion whether Voltaire was, or was not, concerned in trading in bills of the *ſtaire*, was probably not decided in the court in which the cauſe was tried, as that was not the point in conteſt between him and Herſcheld. But if Voltaire had not been conſcious of ſomewhat wrong in his own conduct, a recommendation of his cauſe to one of the judges could not have been neceſſary. As he was known to be a favourite of the king, he was at leaſt as likely as the Jew to obtain impartial juſtice. It may alſo be remarked, that the ſmallneſs of the fine, which was impoſed upon the Jew, ſeems to afford a kind of preſumption, that no evidence of very criminal conduct had been produced againſt him. Whatever might be the merits of the cauſe, as it was determined in favour of Voltaire, he again appeared at court; and ſoon after obtained permiſſion of the king to retire, for the benefit of his health, to a ſmall houſe

[b] Villette's Life of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 183.

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CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

in the country, that Frederick had given to D'Argens. After ſome ſtay there, he returned again to court, and the king and he were apparently reconciled.

OTHER cauſes of miſunderſtanding ſoon, however, began to manifeſt themſelves. Some of the other wits at Frederick's court are repreſented as having been jealous of the partiality which the king diſcovered to Voltaire [o]; and they reported to his majeſty ſuch ſarcaſms of Voltaire as they thought would give him offence. On the death of Mettrie [p], the king was informed

[o] Voltaire ſays, 'that one day, after reading to the 'king, Mettrie, who ſpoke whatever came uppermoſt, told 'his majeſty, that ſome perſons were extremely jealous of 'my favour and fortune.' "Be quiet, a while," ſaid Frederick; "we ſqueeze the orange, and we throw it away "when we have ſwallowed the juice." Mettrie did not 'fail to repeat to me this fine apophthegm, worthy of 'Dionyſius of Syracuſe. From that time I determined to 'take all poſſible care of the orange-peel.' Memoires, p. 117.

[p] Voltaire informs us, that 'METTRIE was the moſt 'frank and declared atheiſt of all the perſons of the faculty 'in Europe. He was, in other reſpects, a gay, pleaſant, 'thoughtleſs fellow, who underſtood the theory of phyſic, 'as well as any of his brethren; but he was, without ex'ception, the worſt practitioner upon earth; and he had, 'therefore, quitted the profeſſion. He had ridiculed the 'whole faculty at Paris, and had even written many perſo'nalities againſt individuals among the phyſicians, which 'they could never pardon; and they obtained a deciſion 'againſt him, in conſequence of which a warrant was iſſued 'for his apprehenſion. Mettrie thereupon retired to Berlin, 'where

formed that Voltaire had said, that "the place of King's Atheiſt was vacant." With this, however,

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

'where he amuſed himſelf ſufficiently by his gaiety, and 'likewiſe by writing and printing all that can be imagined 'moſt impudent upon manners. His books pleaſed the king, 'who made him not his phyſician, but his reader.'—'Mettrie 'died from having eaten a paſty ſtuffed with truffles, 'after a very hearty dinner at the Table of lord Tyrconnel, 'envoy from France. It was pretended, that he had been 'confeſſed before his death; a report which filled the king 'with great indignation, and into the truth of which, there'fore, he made the ſtricteſt inquiries. They aſſured him, 'that it was an atrocious calumny; for that Mettrie had 'died as he had lived, abjuring God and the phyſicians. 'His majeſty was ſatisfied, and immediately compoſed his 'funeral oration, which was read, in his name, at a pub'lic meeting of the academy, by Darget his ſecretary. He 'likewiſe ſettled a penſion of ſix hundred livres upon a *fille* 'de joye, who had been brought by Mettrie from Paris, where 'he left his wife and children.' Memoires, p. 115, 116, 118, 119.

The king of Pruſſia, in his *Eloge du Sieur La Mettrie*, ſays, that JULIEN OFFROI LA METTRIE was born at St Malo's, on the 25th of December, 1709. He received part of his education at the college of Conſtance, and part at the college du Pleſſis. The account given of him by the king, is much more favourable than that of Voltaire. Frederick ſays, 'He ſtudied rhetoric at Caen, and as he had 'much genius and imagination, he carried away all the pri'zes for eloquence. He was born an orator. He was paſ'ſionately fond of poetry and polite literature; but his fa'ther, who thought that more was to be gained by being an 'eccleſiaſtic, than by being a poet, deſtined him for the 'church.' His father's wiſhes, however were not gratified: he was perſuaded to apply himſelf to phyſic, which he ſtudied under Boerhaave, and took the degree of doctor of phyſic at

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

however, Frederick was not greatly offended. But with another ſarcaſtic remark of Voltaire's, relative to his writings, he is ſaid to have been much more diſpleaſed. General Manſtein happened to be in the apartments of Voltaire, who was examining and correcting ſome memoirs of the Ruſſian empire, written by that officer, and which were to be publiſhed in French, when a poetical piece of the king's was brought to Voltaire to reviſe and correct. On receiving

at Rheims. In 1742, he was made phyſician to the French guards, by the intereſt of the duke de Grammont. He accompanied that nobleman at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. In the laſt of thoſe actions the duke was killed by a cannon ball, and Mettrie was thereby deprived of a patron. He publiſhed ſeveral medical works, and a piece called *L'Hiſtoire Naturelle de l'Ame*, written in ſupport of the ſyſtem of materialiſm. This gave offence to the clergy, who maintained, as the king of Pruſſia ſays, "that a phy-"ſician, accuſed of hereſy, could not cure the diſeaſes of "the French guards."

Mettrie was alſo the author of a work, entitled, *La Politique des Medecins*; and this ſo much incenſed the phyſicians, that they united with the clergy in ſuch a perſecution againſt him, that he was obliged to quit France. He afterwards went to Leyden, where he publiſhed another ſatirical piece againſt the phyſicians, and another piece in defence of materialiſm. At the beginning of the year 1746, he went to Berlin, where he was admitted a member of the royal academy, and received a penſion from the king. He died at Berlin, at the houſe of Lord Tyrconnel, in the forty-third year of his age. Frederick ſays, that he had an inexhauſtible fund of natural gaiety, great wit, and a fertile imagination; and that he was regretted as an honeſt man, and a learned phyſician, by all thoſe who had not been impoſed upon by the calumnies of the divines.

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the royal verſes, Voltaire ſaid to the general, "Let us leave off for the preſent, my friend. "You ſee the king has ſent me his dirty linen "to waſh: I will waſh your's another time [c]." Maupertuis, it is ſaid, took care that his majeſty ſhould be made acquainted with this ſpeech [d]. CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

But the principal cauſe of miſunderſtanding between Frederick and Voltaire, and which at length occaſioned their total ſeparation, was the part that the latter took in a diſpute between MAUPERTUIS and KOENIG, and in which Voltaire acted in direct oppoſition to the king. Before the arrival of Voltaire at Berlin, he and Maupertuis had been on very good terms together; they had been perſonally acquainted at Paris, and at the houſe of madame du Chatelet, and letters highly complimentary had paſſed on both ſides. But when they often met together at Frederick's court, it ſoon appeared, that they were mutually diſguſted with each other. Maupertuis was thought to be diſpleaſed at the honours and diſtinctions that were conferred by the king on Voltaire; and the latter was probably offended that Maupertuis, after he came to Berlin, ſhould continue to hold the office of preſident of the royal academy of ſciences. This gave him a kind of rank among the men of letters at Berlin, to which Voltaire might think no man but himſelf

[c] Commentaire Hiſtorique ſur les Oeuvres de l'auteur de Henriade, p. 60.
[d] Id. Ibid.

could

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

could be entitled, in any place in which he reſided. Voltaire had been for a conſiderable time perſonally acquainted with Koenig; but there ſeems reaſon to believe, that the averſion which he had now conceived againſt Maupertuis, was the real cauſe of his taking ſo decided a part in the controverſy between him and Koenig.

THE conteſt between Maupertuis and Koenig was occaſioned by a piece written by the former, and read before the royal academy of ſciences at Berlin, entitled, *Recherche des loix du mouvement*, in which he maintained, "That "when there happens any alteration in nature, "the quantity of action, neceſſary to produce "this alteration, is the leaſt poſſible[e]." This principle he illuſtrated in ſeveral of his other pieces, and founded on it a demonſtration of the exiſtence of the Deity. His principle was alſo claimed by himſelf, and his friends, as a diſcovery: but M. Koenig, who was an able mathematician, librarian to the prince of Orange, and a member of the academy at Berlin, aſſerted, that Maupertuis's principle was not new, and that it was to be found in the fragment of a letter written by Leibnitz. Maupertuis then called upon Koenig to produce that letter, but he could not produce the original: and the academy of Berlin now interpoſing, publickly declared, that the paſſage cited by Koenig as the fragment of a letter of Leibnitz, and which was publiſhed in the *Acta*

[e] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. IV. p. 36.

Eruditorum

Eruditorum of Leipſic, carried with it evident marks of falſity, and was unworthy of credit. M. Euler alſo engaged in the conteſt in ſupport of Maupertuis, in a diſſertation which he publiſhed on the principle of a *minimum* in *action* [q]. But many thought, that the academy ought not to have interfered in this buſineſs; that Koenig was not only a learned man, but a man of veracity; that his whole crime was, that he had offended the vanity of Maupertuis; and that he

[q] Koenig not only denied that Maupertuis had made any diſcovery, but alſo endeavoured to ſhew that his principle was not true. Euler, on the contrary, contended, that Maupertuis had made a diſcovery, and that his principle was well founded. He admitted at the ſame time, that it had been aſſerted both by antient and modern philoſophers, that nature always follows the moſt eaſy paths, or employs the leaſt expence in her operations; and that this, therefore, was not a diſcovery. But the point, he ſaid, was, not to find out who it was that firſt ſaid there was ſuch a law in nature, but who was the firſt that exhibited that law in a clear light, and determined, that nature ſpares, not only ſometimes, but always, and in all her operations: and this he affirmed, had only been done by M. Maupertuis. The old philoſophers, and followers of Ariſtotle, he ſaid, had eſtabliſhed it as a law, that nature took the ſhorteſt courſe in all her operations, but they had not explained any phænomenon from it. But M. Maupertuis, from his principle, had examined and explained all the laws relative to light, both with regard to its propagation and refraction. By the principle of M. Maupertuis, the quantity of action was eſtimated by the product of the ſpace multiplied by the velocity. And that this product, M. Euler ſaid, not only in the motion of the rays of light, but in all the motions and operations of nature, becomes in reality the ſmalleſt poſſible, is the whole foundation of the principle of the *minima actio*.

CHAP. XIV. A.D. 1752.

was only unfortunate in not having the original letter that he had quoted in his poſſeſſion. König himſelf complained, that his rights as a man of letters were violated by the academy interpoſing their authority in a literary controverſy. He afterwards publiſhed a warm vindication of himſelf; and the academy of Berlin thought proper to expel him from their ſociety.

VOLTAIRE now openly took the part of König, and cenſured the proceedings of the academy. And Maupertuis having about this time publiſhed his *Lettre ſur le progrès des ſciences*, Voltaire took every opportunity of turning it into extreme ridicule. He ſays of it, that ſo 'thing had ever been written ſo ridiculous and 'abſurd. The good man ſeriouſly propoſed to 'travel directly to the two poles, to diſſect the 'heads of giants, in order to diſcover the nature 'of the ſoul by the texture of the brain'; to 'build a city, in which nothing ſhould be ſpo-'ken but the Latin language: to dig a pit to the 'center of the earth; to cure the ſick by plaiſ-'tering them over with gum-reſin; and, finally, 'to propheſy, by enthuſiaſtically inflating the 'fancy. The king laughed at his book, I laugh-'ed at it, all the world laughed at it[f]. Maupertuis's performance had in it ſome ill-grounded and whimſical opinions, but it alſo contained ſentiments that were juſt and rational, and was far from being ſo ridiculous a piece as it was

[f] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 120, 121.

repreſented

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

represented to be by Voltaire. It appears to have been addressed to the king of Prussia, though without expressly naming him; and was intended to point out some probable methods of advancing knowledge in the sciences, and to recommend some researches and enquiries, which Maupertuis thought would be beneficial to mankind. He was desirous, that the southern hemisphere should be accurately explored, and that the interior parts of Africa should be better known. The Patagonians, he considered as a great object of curiosity; and he seemed to give much credit to the reports that had been published concerning them. "These men," says he, "undoubtedly deserve to be known. The largeness "of their size would be, perhaps, the least thing "to be observed. Their ideas, their knowledge, "their history, would be a still greater curiosity[a]." Speaking of the South Sea, he also says, "It is in the islands of this sea, that navi"gators assure us they have seen savage men, "hairy, and having tails; a kind of middle "species between apes and men[b]. I had "much rather have an hour's conversation with "one of these, than with one of the finest wits "in Europe[c]." In order to render the Latin

[a] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. II. p. 387, 388.

[b] In another place he says, 'We should see, perhaps, 'a very different construction of the brain from that of ours, 'if we had some communication with the giants in the southern hemisphere, or with the hairy men having tails, of 'whom I have before spoken.' Ibid. p. 428.

[c] Ibid p. 382, 383.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

tongue once more a living language, he propoſed that ſome prince ſhould build a city, in which perſons well verſed in Latin ſhould be aſſembled; and in which they ſhould preach in Latin, plead in Latin, and perform plays in Latin. "I do not believe," ſays he, "that "the Latin ſpoken would be that of the court "of Auguſtus, but neither would it be that of "the Poles; and the young perſons who would "come into that city, from many countries of "Europe, would learn more Latin in it in one "year, than they learn in five or ſix in the "preſent ſeminaries[i]." He propoſed ſome methods for making farther advances in the ſcience of aſtronomy; he thought the medical art in a very low ſtate; and recommended, that the puniſhments of criminals ſhould be rendered more beneficial to mankind, by making a variety of experiments on their bodies when living; which, at the ſame time that it gave them a chance of eſcaping with life, might contribute greatly to the advancement of medical ſcience[k].

THOUGH the king of Pruſſia, agreeably to Voltaire's account, might laugh with him in private at ſome paſſages in Maupertuis's book, and at ſome of his pleaſantries concerning him, yet when he ſaw his preſident and his academy both violently and publicly attacked, about the

[i] Oeuvres de Maupertuis, ut ſupra, p. 399, 409.
[k] Ibid. p. 401, 407, 408, 413.

affair

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

fair of Koenig, he was ſo zealous in their defence, that he himſelf wrote a vindication of them, which was printed at Berlin, under the title of *Lettre d'un Academicien de Berlin à un Academicien de Paris*. In this piece, Frederick fully repaid the high compliments which he had himſelf occaſionally received from Maupertuis [s]. He ſtated the reaſons that had occaſioned Koenig to

[s] PETER LEWIS MOREAU DE MAUPERTUIS was deſcended from a noble family, and born at St. Malo's, in France, in the year 1698. In his youth he diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity to the mathematics, and alſo an inclination for military life. He entered into the *mouſquetaires* in 1718, but continued to employ his leiſure hours in ſtudy. After having continued two years in that corps, he obtained the command of a company of cavalry; but his attachment to the mathematics increaſing with his age, he ſoon quitted the army, that he might devote himſelf entirely to ſcientific purſuits. In 1723, he was elected a member of the royal academy of ſciences at Paris; and a few years after he went to London, where he was elected a fellow of the royal ſociety. After his departure from England, he went to Switzerland, where he became acquainted with John and Daniel Bernouilli. In 1732 he publiſhed, at Paris, a diſcourſe *ſur les différentes figures des aſtres*. In 1736, M. Maupertuis was placed at the head of thoſe mathematicians, who were ſent by the French king towards the north pole, in order to meaſure a degree there, and by that means to aſcertain the figure of the earth. Other mathematicians were ſent about the ſame time to meaſure a degree near the equator. A diſpute concerning the figure of the earth had ſubſiſted forty years. ISAAC NEWTON had demonſtrated, from mechanical principles, that the earth was an oblate ſpheroid, or that it was flatted at the poles, and jutted out towards the equator. The celebrated Caſſini, however, aſſerted the direct contrary, and had

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

to be cenſured by the academy; the oppoſition that was made to Maupertuis is repreſented as

had many partiſans. After the return of M. Maupertuis, and the other mathematicians to Paris, he publiſhed an account of their voyage, in 1738, by which the opinion of Sir ISAAC NEWTON was confirmed beyond diſpute. Maupertuis was afterwards fond of introducing this ſubject into his academical diſcourſes, and ſeemed inclined to arrogate too much to himſelf in the buſineſs, and not ſufficiently diſpoſed to do juſtice to the merit of NEWTON. In a diſcourſe read by him before the royal academy at Berlin, in 1741, he ſays, 'The Engliſh had the advantage of having found 'the beſt *conjectures* upon this queſtion, France had the glory 'of deciding it, and of deciding it in their favour.'

In 1742, M. Maupertuis publiſhed, at Paris, *Elémens de Géographie*, and alſo a letter upon the comet which appeared in that year. But before the appearance of theſe pieces, he went to Berlin, in conſequence of an invitation from the Pruſſian monarch. He accompanied Frederick in part of his Sileſian war, and was taken priſoner and plundered by ſome Auſtrian huſſars, at the battle of Molwitz. He was carried to Vienna, where he met with a very polite reception from the grand duke of Tuſcany, and his conſort the queen of Hungary. Among other things of which he was plundered by the huſſars, he told the grand-duke, that one was an Engliſh watch, made by Graham, which he very much regretted, becauſe it was extremely uſeful to him in his aſtronomical obſervations. The grand-duke happened to have one made by the ſame artiſt, which was ſet with diamonds; and he ſaid to Maupertuis. "Our huſſars took your watch only by "way of pleaſantry; they have brought it back again, and "I now return it to you;" at the ſame time giving him his own watch, which was much more valuable than that which had been taken from him. In the courſe of his converſation with the queen of Hungary, her majeſty obſerved to him, that

originating solely in envy; and Koenig, and those who supported him, he speaks of in very unfavourable

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

at ſhe had been informed, that the princeſs Louiſa Ulrica Pruſſia, with whom he was acquainted, and who was afrwards married to the prince-royal of Sweden, was the oſt beautiful princeſs in the world. "Till this day, madam," replied Maupertuis, "I was entirely of that opinion." Having received many civilities from the queen d the grand duke, and obtained his liberty, he went to rance, and made ſome ſtay there. He then returned again Berlin, and became preſident of the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres in that city. In that ſituation he as much reſpected, and he was treated with great regard by e king; but his tranquillity was exceedingly diſturbed by s diſpute with Koenig, and the attacks of Voltaire. He as alſo troubled with ill health; and in 1756, he returned France, where he continued till the year 1758, when he ent to Switzerland. He died at Baſil, on the 27th of July, 759, at ſixty-two years of age, being attended, in his laſt oments, by his friends Daniel and John Bernouilli.

Maupertuis was the author of ſeveral pieces, beſides thoſe hich I have already mentioned; particularly *Eſſai de Coſmologie*, *Eſſai de Philoſophie Morale*, *Venus Phyſique*, *Aſtronomie Nautique*, *Syſteme de la Nature*, *Relation d'un Voyage ſond de la Lepponie*, &c. His Works were publiſhed gether at Lyons, in four volumes, 8vo. in 1756, and in 68. He was undoubtedly a man of conſiderable abilis; but, in his own time, his talents were much overted. The marquis de Villette ſays, 'that Maupertuis was a fiery, but gloomy genius; overbearing in company; one of the moſt amiable men alive when all attention was paid o him, and every preference ſhewn him; but, as ſoon as is vanity was hurt, the auſterity and melancholy of his ountenance ſuddenly betrayed the haughtineſs of his diſoſition. It was nearly with this kind of expreſſion that he

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CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

unfavourable terms. Maupertuis, he said, was the glory of the royal academy of Berlin; their memoirs were more adorned by his writings than by thoſe of any other member; he was admired by all Europe for the ſuperiority of his genius, and the extent of his knowledge; and ſuch was the excellency of his character, that he might be conſidered as the model of a virtuous man, and a true philoſopher. In the academy, Frederick ſaid, he not only preſided, but managed their revenues, diſpoſed of vacant places, and granted penſions, with the greateſt judgment and impartiality. He was the protector of talents and of merit, and had always manifeſted the moſt diſintereſted ſpirit. He was admired, it was added, by all the learned who had read his works; beloved and eſteemed by the members of the academy; and more diſtinguiſhed

'had his picture drawn; the head erect, a ſtern countenance, 'with one hand flattening the poles of the earth, and by this 'attitude aſſuming the honour of a diſcovery which belong-'ed to NEWTON.' He appears to have been a man of probity, and of regular and virtuous manners; but his ideas of human life were very gloomy. Lord Cheſterfield had a high opinion of him. In one of his letters to his ſon, who was about to make a journey to Berlin, he ſays, 'I 'would have you endeavour to get acquainted with mon-'ſieur de Maupertuis, who is ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, by 'all kind of learning and merit, that one ſhould be both ſor-'ry and aſhamed of having been even a day in the ſame 'place with him, and not to have ſeen him.' And in another letter, he ſays, 'Monſieur de Maupertuis is, what one 'rarely meets with, deep in philoſophy and mathematics, 'and yet *honnête et aimable homme.*'

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at court, and more favoured by the king, than any other man of letters.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

To the king's defence of Maupertuis an anſwer was publiſhed, ſaid to be written by Voltaire, under the title of *Réponſe de l'Academicien de Paris, a l'Academicien de Berlin*, in which Koenig was zealouſly defended; and in which it was obſerved, that from the great influence and power which Maupertuis, as preſident, had in the academy, even according to the ſtatement of the royal author of the vindication of Maupertuis, it was manifeſt, that the academy of Berlin was not a proper or impartial tribunal, to ſettle a literary diſpute between M. Koenig and the preſident.

In Frederick's letter he had obſerved, that "Monſ. Maupertuis was conſidered in France, "as of all others the moſt capable geometrici-"an, to verify thoſe truths which NEWTON "had conjectured in his cloſet, relative to the "figure of the earth. On that account he "had been ſent into Lapland; and by his geo-"metric operations, he had contributed as "much to his own glory, as to that of the "Engliſh philoſopher, whom he was led by his "modeſty to conſider as his maſter!" Upon this paſſage it was remarked, in the anſwer to the king's piece, that "it required great ſagacity, "and a ſuperiority of genius, to determine in "the cloſet, by meditations grounded upon the

[1] *Lettre d'un Academicien de Berlin*, &c. publiſhed in *Eloges de trois Philoſophes*, 8vo. Lond. 1753, p. 65.

"laws

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

"laws of natural philoſophy, the figure of the "earth; but it required nothing but exactneſs, "and ſome ſkill in menſuration, to verify the "important truth diſcovered by Newton. The "methods which were to be employed for that "purpoſe had long been made uſe of by Snell, "Picard, Muſſchenbroek, and others; ſo that "in this reſpect nothing new had been done. "And as to the operations, it was M. Clairaut "who had made the calculation of triangles; "it was M. Camus who had regulated the in- "ſtruments; and Meſſieurs Celſius and Le Mo- "nier who had made the obſervations. All the "part, therefore, that M. Maupertuis had in "the buſineſs, was that of having been a ſpec- "tator, and publiſhing, in good French, an "account of the voyage, and of the circum- "ſtances with which it was attended."[m]

But Voltaire was not ſatisfied with attack- ing Maupertuis by ſtatements of facts, and fair argument. He alſo employed againſt him thoſe powers of ridicule, of which he was ſo eminently a maſter; particularly in a piece called "the Tomb of the Sorbonne;" and in another called "the Diatriba of Doctor Akakia, "phyſician to the pope." Frederick, who was much exaſperated at the freedom with which Maupertuis was treated in the laſt of theſe pieces, accuſed Voltaire with being the author of it. Voltaire, who was accuſtomed to

[m] *Réponſe de l'Academicien de Paris*, publiſhed in the *Eloge de trois Philoſophes*, p. 21, 22.

diſclaim

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

diction of his works, protested on his honour, that he had no hand in that ſatire; but the king confuted him, by producing the manuſcript of his ſecretary, which he had ordered to be ſcized at the printer's. The "Diatribe of Doctor Akakia" was burnt, as a defamatory libel, by the common executioner, in all the public places in Berlin, on the 24th of December 1752. Voltaire, now conſidering himſelf as ruined at the Pruſſian court, returned the king his enſign of the order of merit, and his chamberlain's key, with the following lines:

Je les reçus avec tendreſſe,
Je vous les rends avec douleur:
C'eſt ainſi qu'un amant jaloux, dans ſa mauvaiſe humeur,
Rend le portrait de ſa maîtreſſe.

FREDERICK, being ſomewhat ſoftened by this act of ſubmiſſion, ſent him back the tokens of his former kindneſs, and granted him a long conference, in which Voltaire, if he could not juſtify, at leaſt in ſome degree excuſed himſelf[n]. The king, however, afterwards ſent the abbé de Prades to Voltaire at Berlin, and required of him, that he ſhould write a letter of apology to Maupertuis. This requiſition put Voltaire into a rage. He not only refuſed, in the roughest manner, to comply

[n] Hiſtorical and Critical Memoirs of the Life and Writings of M. de Voltaire, tranſlated from the French of Dom Chaudon, 8vo. 1776, p. 157.

[o] Ibid. p. 157. [p] Ibid. p. 157.

with

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1752.

with what was desired of him, but directed the abbé to tell the king, that "he might go to hell." The abbé, in order to induce Voltaire to send back another answer, told him, that his majesty had ordered him to bring back his answer *verbatim*; and asked him, whether the answer, which he had given him, was what he was really to deliver to the king? "Yes," replied Voltaire; "and you may add to it, that I "told you, that you might go to hell with "him [q]."

When the abbé de Prades returned to Rotterdam, the king desired to know what Voltaire had said to him. The abbé hesitated, and seemed unwilling to deliver his message. But Frederick insisted upon knowing precisely what had passed. The abbé then informed him exactly, and the king appeared highly diverted at Voltaire's vehemence, and at the politeness of his message. He made the abbé repeat it several times, and at every repetition laughed immoderately [r]. The king and Voltaire had afterwards another interview [T]; in which he requested

[q] Villette's Life of Voltaire, ut supra, p. 190.

[r] Ibid. p. 181.

[T] It has been said, that in one of these interviews, Voltaire appeared before the king, holding the *Akakia* in his hand, which he threw into the fire, saying, "There, sire, "there are the remains of that wretched book, which has "made me lose your friendship." Frederick hastened to the fire-place, and endeavoured to save the *Akakia* from the flames, in which he was opposed by Voltaire. The king, however,

requested permission to go to Plombieres, for the benefit of his health. Frederick granted his consent, and made him promise to return. But having afterwards discovered, that Voltaire had caused the *Akakia* to be printed in Holland, which had occasioned the president of his academy to be laughed at throughout all Europe, and being also informed, that Voltaire had written a satirical piece against himself [p], he wrote to him the following letter: GH. A. D. XLVI. A. D. 1753.

'You are at liberty to leave my service whenever you please; but, before you go, let me entreat you to return the contract of your engagement, the key, the cross, and the volume of poetry with which I entrusted you. I could

however, carried his point, burnt his ruffles, and saved the book. The scene was closed by Frederick and Voltaire laughing heartily together, and embracing each other. This story is not very credible. The king would hardly be so anxious to save a book, of which there were then probably many more copies. The story also seems too much an imitation of that of the president Hainault, who burnt a pair of ruffles in saving the *Henriade* from the flames. It has been asserted, that the king himself had assisted in writing some passages in Voltaire's satires against Maupertuis, though he afterwards expressed so much indignation at their being published.

[p] This piece was entitled, *La Vie privée du Roi de Prusse*. Darget, his secretary, requested the king to give him leave to write an answer to this publication. Frederick replied, "My dear Darget, it is not worth your while to "refute the calumnies of this work. It is my business to do "my duty, and to let malicious people say what they "please." Villette's Life of Voltaire, p. 359.

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CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

'wiſh that my works had only been expoſed to 'the critical obſervations of you and Koenig.'

'I cannot regard the cenſures of thoſe, who 'imagine that they raiſe their own reputation, 'by ruining that of others. I have neither the 'madneſs, nor the vanity, of certain authors. 'I look on the cabals of men of letters as the 'diſgrace of literature, but do not the leſs 'eſteem thoſe who cultivate learning with more 'liberal minds. My contempt falls only on the 'leaders of parties[t]. March 16, 1753.'

AFTER having received this letter, Voltaire quitted Berlin; and when he called to his valet de chambre to aſſiſt him in taking off the croſs of the order of merit, and his chamberlain's key, which he ſent to the king, he ſaid, "Here! divert me of "theſe diſgraceful marks of ſervitude." From Berlin he went to Leipſic, where he continued to publiſh ſatirical pieces againſt Maupertuis[v], and from

[t] Chaudon's Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 158, 159.

[v] Maupertuis is ſaid to have been ſo much exaſperated at the ſatires that Voltaire publiſhed againſt him, as to ſend him a letter, threatening to take on him a perſonal revenge. In alluſion to this, the following ludicrous paſſages appeared, in a continuation which Voltaire publiſhed, at Leipſic, of his *Diatriba of Dr. Akakia*. 'The Native of St. Malo's, (Maupertuis,) having been again attacked by his frenzy, has vented 'his ravings againſt his good phyſician, Akakia, who is now 'ill at the city of Leipſic in Germany, and has written him 'a menacing letter, in which he threatens to come and mur-'der him.

'Since

from thence he went to the court of Saxe-Gotha. CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.
"I went," says he, "to pass a month with the "ducheſs

"during the days of M. de Pourceaugnac, who wanted to "visit his physician sword in hand, so malicious a patient "was never known. Dr. Akakia, being alarmed, presented the following petition to the university of Leipsic.

"The Petition of Dr. AKAKIA.

"Dr. AKAKIA having fled for protection to the university of Leipsic, where he has sought an asylum from the attempts of a Laplander, a native of St. Malo's, who has declared he will murder him, in the midst of the university, earnestly entreats the doctors and scholars, to arm themselves against that barbarian with their penknives and inkstands; and he particularly requests his brethren, the physicians, to administer a purge to the said savage, the moment he appears, in order that he may evacuate all his peccant humours, and that they may preserve, by their art, the little reason still possessed by this cruel Laplander, and the life of their good brother Akakia, who recommends himself to their protection. He likewise intreats the apothecaries not to forget themselves on this occasion."

"In consequence of this petition, the university issued a decree to arrest the native of St. Malo's, at the gates of the city, as soon as he should arrive to perpetrate his parricide on the good Akakia, who had behaved to him like a father. The following is the order of the university, and is still to be seen in the *Acta Eruditorum*.

"A Quidam having written a letter to an inhabitant of Leipsic, in which he threatens to murder the said inhabitant; and as the murdering of any person is manifestly contrary to the privileges of the fair, this is to request all and every one, to give information against the said Quidam the moment he shall present himself at the gates of Leipsic. He is a philosopher, whose gait is in the compound ratio of absent and precipitate. His eyes are round

and

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

" ducheſs of Saxe-Gotha, the beſt princeſs in the " world, the moſt mild, the moſt prudent, and of the

' and ſmall, his peruke the ſame, and his noſe, cauſed by ' He has an ill look, a full face, and a full head; that is ' to ſay, full of himſelf. He always carries a *ſcalpel* in his ' pocket, to diſſect tall people. Whoever will give informa- ' tion concerning him, ſhall receive a thouſand ducats re- ' ward, to be paid at the Latin city, building by the ſaid ' *Quidam*, or out of the comet of gold and diamonds which ' is ſoon to fall on the earth, according to the predictions of ' the ſaid *Quidam*, philoſopher and aſſaſſin.'

' The phyſician, Akakia, alſo wrote a conciliatory epiſtle ' to the native of St. Malo's, of which the following are ex- ' tracts.

' Mr. Preſident,

' I have received the letter with which you honoured me. ' You inform me that you are in good health, and that you ' have completely recovered your ſtrength, and yet you mean ' to come and murder me.—What ingratitude towards your ' poor phyſician Akakia!—You are not contented with not ' paying him, but are determined to be his aſſaſſin. Such a ' proceeding is unbecoming the preſident of an academy, ' and a good Chriſtian, as you are. Permit me to congra- ' tulate you on the return of your health; but I have not ' ſo much ſtrength as you. I have kept my bed this fort- ' night; and, therefore, muſt entreat you to defer the phi- ' loſophical experiment, which you are ſo deſirous of mak- ' ing. Perhaps you mean to diſſect me; but conſider, I am ' not a giant from *Terra Auſtralis*, and beſides that my brain ' is ſo ſmall, that you can acquire no new ideas, on the na- ' ture of the ſoul, from an examination of its fibres.'—' How ' can you think of carrying your animoſity ſo far as to kill ' me?'—' If you can but bear your imagination juſt enough ' to peep into futurity, you muſt perceive, that if you come ' to murder me at Leipſic, where you are not more beloved ' than any where elſe, and where your letter is depoſited, you ' will run a riſk of being hanged, which would too much haſten

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CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

" the moſt equal temper; and who, God be " thanked, did not make verſes. I afterwards " ſpent a few days at the country-houſe of the " landgrave of Heſſe, who was ſtill a remove " farther from poetry than the princeſs of Saxe " Gotha. Thus I took breath, and thence con- " tinued, by ſhort journies, my route to Franck- " fort, where a very whimſical kind of deſtiny " awaited me."

At Franckfort on the Maine Voltaire was arreſted, on the firſt of June, 1753, at the deſire of the Pruſſian reſident. One reaſon for detaining him was, to oblige him to give up the contract which the king had made with him, and by which he had bound himſelf to pay to him twenty thouſand livres a year: but the principal reaſon was, to get from him a volume of the king's poetry, which Voltaire had in his poſſeſſion, and which, he ſaid, Frederick had given him. Voltaire declared, that he would readily give up the contract, and the volume of poetry, but that he had left them both at Leipſic with his other effects; however, he pledged his honour, and gave a written promiſe, not to abſent himſelf from Franckfort, without permiſ-

" the moment of your maturity, and be quite unbecoming " the preſident of an academy."

" P.S. As we have here fifty or ſixty perſons who have ri- " diculed you prodigiouſly, they beg leave to inquire, on " what day it is that you intend to murder them all."—Hiſtorical and Critical Memoirs of Voltaire, by Dom Chaudon, p. 164—169.

Mémoires de Voltaire, p. 129, 130.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

ſion, or without ſatisfying the demands that had been made upon him. Notwithſtanding this engagement, the magiſtrates of Franckfort were informed, much to their ſurprize, that he had ſuddenly left that place. He was immediately purſued, and brought back to the city under a guard of ten ſoldiers. The reaſon he aſſigned for his departure was, that he intended to try the waters of Viſbaden [t]. When he had delivered up the volume of the king's poetry, he expected to have been ſet at liberty, but he was ſtill detained, together with his niece, madam Denis, who was then with him. He might now, perhaps, be detained, till he had given up the king's contract with him. Voltaire himſelf ſays, 'On the twelfth of June, the packet of poetry 'came, and I faithfully gave up the ſacred de- 'poſit, imagining that I might then depart, 'without offence to any crowned head. But at 'the very inſtant when I was ſetting off, I was 'again arreſted, together with my ſecretary, 'and my ſervants. They even arreſted my 'niece; and four ſoldiers dragged her, through 'the middle of the dirt, to the houſe of M. 'Schmitt, who had, by I know not what right, the 'title of privy-counſellor to the king of Pruſſia. 'This Franckfort trader thought himſelf at that 'time a Pruſſian general. He commanded twelve 'of the town guards, with all the importance and

[t] D. Chaudon's Hiſt. and Crit. Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 159.

'grandeur,

'grandeur, which an affair of ſuch conſequence acquired. My niece had a paſſport from the king of France; and, moreover, had never 'entertained the king of Pruſſia's verſes. Women are uſually reſpected even amidſt the horrors 'of war; but the counſellor Schmit, and the reſident Freitag, endeavoured to pay their court to Frederick, by hauling one of the fair ſex through the mud. They ſhut us up in a kind of inn, at the door of which the twelve 'ſoldiers were poſted. Four others were placed 'in my chamber, four in the garret, where 'they had conducted my niece, and four in 'a ſtill more wretched garret, where my ſecretary was laid upon ſtraw. My niece, indeed, was allowed a ſmall bed: but four ſoldiers, with fixed bayonets, ſerved her inſtead 'of curtains and chamber-maids.'—'We were detained for twelve days as priſoners of war, for 'which we paid one hundred and forty crowns a 'day. The merchant Schmit had ſeized on all 'my effects, which were returned to me one 'half lighter. One need not wiſh to pay dearer 'for the poetry of the king of Pruſſia. I loſt about as much as it had coſt him, to ſend for 'me, and take my leſſons; ſo that we were quits 'at parting'.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

In a letter, written ſome time after to his niece, referring to the treatment which ſhe and himſelf had received at Franckfort, Voltaire ſays, 'I

[a] Mémoires de Voltaire, p. 133—137.

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

'ſometimes imagine, that all this muſt have been 'a dream, or that it happened in the time of the 'tyrant of Syracuſe. I aſk myſelf, whether it 'can poſſibly be true, that a French lady, tra-'velling with the paſſport of the king of France, 'ſhould have been dragged through the ſtreets 'of Franckfort by ſoldiers, and thrown into 'priſon, without any form of law, or without 'her ſervant being permitted to attend her; 'while four ſoldiers, with their bayonets fixed, 'kept guard at the door; and when ſhe was 'forced to ſuffer the clerk of Freitag, a rafcal 'of the loweſt order, to paſs the whole night in 'her chamber. When La Brinvilliers [w] was 'arreſted, the executioner was never left alone 'with her. There has been no example of ſuch 'indecent barbarity. And what was your crime? 'That you had made a journey of two hundred 'leagues to accompany a dying uncle, whom 'you conſider as your father, to the waters of 'Plombiers. It is not honourable to the king 'of Pruſſia, that he has made no atonement for 'ſo ſhameful an inſult, committed in his name, 'and by one who ſtiled himſelf his miniſter. As 'to myſelf, he had cauſed me to be arreſted for 'having in my poſſeſſion a printed volume of his 'poetry, of which he had made me a preſent,

[w] The marchioneſs de Brinvilliers, who poiſoned her father, her two brothers, and her ſiſter, becauſe they had procured her lover, St. Croix, to be ſent to the Baſtile. She was beheaded, and afterwards burnt, in 1679.

'and

and to which I had ſome right. He had bowed it on me as a pledge of his kindneſs, and as the reward of my care. He wiſhed to receive back his preſent; and for that purpoſe he had nothing to do but to ſpeak the word. It was not worth while to impriſon an old man, who was going to take the benefit of the waters. He ſhould have remembered, that for fifteen years paſt he has prepoſſeſſed my mind by his ſeducing kindneſſes, and that he has drawn me out of my native country in my old age; that I have laboured two ſucceſſive years for his improvement: that I have faithfully ſerved him, and never been any way deficient in my duty; and finally, that it was very much beneath his rank, and his glory, to take part in an academical diſpute, and to conclude his favours by ſending ſoldiers to demand back his poetry [x].' CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

Of the conduct of the king of Pruſſia in this tranſaction, I have never met with any vindication. The principal reaſon aſſigned, for his cauſing Voltaire to be arreſted at Franckfort, was, an apprehenſion that he intended to turn his poems into ridicule. But no ridicule that Voltaire could have thrown on the king of Pruſſia's poetry, would have reflected on him ſo much diſhonour, as his manner of ſtopping him at Franckfort, and regaining poſſeſſion of the poetical volume that he had given him. Even

[x] Idée du Roi de Pruſſe, p. 50—56.

allowing

CHAP. XIV. A. D. 1753.

allowing for ſome exaggeration in the repreſentations of Voltaire, yet, when the manner in which he was invited to the Pruſſian court is conſidered, the conduct of Frederick appears to have been totally indefenſible.

After Voltaire had obtained his liberty at Franckfort, he went to Mentz, where he ſtopt ſome time, "to dry his clothes," as he ſaid, "after his ſhipwreck." He afterwards proceeded to Manheim, where he was received with great reſpect by the elector palatine.

A

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Frederick oppoſes the election of a king of the Romans.—He detains a part of the debt due to Britiſh ſubjects from the Sileſian revenues, by way of repriſals for captures of Pruſſian veſſels, made by Britiſh cruizers.—He viſits the city of Amſterdam, in company with colonel Balbi.—Oppoſition made by him to the ſubſidiary treaty entered into between Great Britain and Ruſſia.—He concludes himſelf a treaty with the king of Great Britain.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

AMONG the political objects, which engaged the attention of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period, one was, the prevention of the election of a king of the Romans. It was the earneſt deſire of the court of Vienna, to obtain this dignity for the arch-duke Joſeph, eldeſt ſon and heir of the reigning emperor, in order thereby to ſecure his future elevation to the imperial throne. This deſign was ſtrongly ſupported by the king of Great Britain, who even gave ſubſidies to ſome of the German princes to promote the meaſure, which he conſidered as calculated to ſecure the peace of Germany, and to prevent ſuch troubles as had ariſen from a diſputed ſucceſſion at the death of Charles the Sixth. But the king of Pruſſia oppoſed this deſign with great firmneſs, though with much appearance of moderation. When the imperial miniſter

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

miniſter at Berlin communicated to him the ſentiments of his Britannick majeſty on this ſubject, and alſo ſolicited his vote for the archduke Joſeph, when the election of a king of the Romans ſhould be propoſed to the electoral college, Frederick replied, That he was extremely well diſpoſed to manifeſt his regard for their imperial majeſties, and to give them moſt genuine proofs of it, even in the propoſed election of a king of the Romans, from a regard to the great merit of the preſent candidate, the archduke Joſeph. But he left it to the conſideration of their imperial majeſties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if tranſacted at a time when his imperial majeſty was in the flower of his age, enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the empire, was in a ſtate of profound tranquillity; ſo that no circumſtance ſeemed to point out the neceſſity of ſuch an election. He alſo remarked, that, in caſe of the emperor's death, Germany would find herſelf in a very diſagreeable ſituation, under the government of a minor. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he could not help adviſing their imperial majeſties to wait till the archduke ſhould be of age, when his election might be carried on with more conformity to the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, and in a manner more ſuitable to the majeſty of the whole Germanic body [a]. This reply he cauſed

[a] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 273, 297, 298.

to

to be circulated among the electors, and particularly transmitted it to the king of Great Britain. He recommended it to the electors, that they should deliberate maturely on this subject, and confer together in a body as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the antient custom of the electoral college, and take such measures as should be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the whole Germanic empire. He also observed, that the reasons for electing a king of the Romans ought to be submitted to all the states of the empire, and not merely to the electoral college. CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

The circular letter of the king of Prussia was answered both by the king of Great Britain and the elector of Bavaria; and they asserted, that it was the privilege of the electoral college only, without any participation of the other princes of the empire, to elect a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, in order to maintain the peace, and preserve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wise precaution had produced bloody wars, and many fatal consequences to the empire. They observed, that nothing could more contribute to the establishment of the public tranquility than this measure, which was ardently desired by the majority of the German princes; and that, although the archduke Joseph wanted a few years of being of age, and the death of the reigning emperor might possibly happen during that prince's

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

prince's minority, yet it would be much leſs prejudicial to the empire to have a minor chief, than to ſee the ſucceſſion altogether unſettled. The Pruſſian monarch alſo received a declaration to the ſame purpoſe from the elector of Mentz; and underſtanding that this prince, as arch-chancellor of the empire, intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propoſe the election of a king of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his electoral highneſs, explaining more particularly his reaſons for poſtponing the election. He quoted an article of the treaty of Weſtphalia, which expreſsly declares, that the election of a king of the Romans ſhall be diſcuſſed and ordained by the common conſent of the ſtates of the empire; and, therefore, he could not, he ſaid, conceive, what right the electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to themſelves, in excluſion of the other ſtates of the empire. He obſerved, that the imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the empire that treated of this ſubject, mentioned only three caſes in which it was lawful to proceed to ſuch an election; namely, the emperor's leaving Germany, and long abſence from it: his advanced age, or ſuch an indiſpoſition, as rendered him incapable of managing the concerns of government; and any caſe of emergency, in which the preſervation of the proſperity of the empire was intereſted. He affirmed, that none of theſe caſes at preſent exiſted; that, in caſe the imperial crown ſhould devolve to a minor, many miſchiefs and diſorders

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

ders muſt enſue, as the conſtitutions of the empire had eſtabliſhed no regulations nor regency in that event; that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the empire, would ſtrike at the fundamental privileges of the princes and ſtates; and, conſequently, would in time overturn the conſtitution of the empire, and totally change the nature of the imperial office; which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free and independent ſuffrages of the electoral college and ſtates of Germany, under certain capitulations, obliging the prince thus choſen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary ſucceſſion, perpetuated in one family, which, of courſe, muſt be aggrandized to the prejudice of its co-eſtates, and the ruin of the Germanic liberties [b].

THE objections urged by the king of Pruſſia, againſt raiſing the archduke Joſeph to the dignity of king of the Romans, were not altogether without reaſon; and it was natural that he ſhould be averſe to a meaſure, which tended to the aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria. He was, however, ſuſpected, of having ſome reaſons againſt the meaſure, which he did not openly avow [x]. But the deſign was ſtill proſecuted with

[b] Smollett's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 290.

[x] Dr Smollett ſays, 'Perhaps, if the truth was known 'this enterprizing prince had projected ſome great ſcheme 'with

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

with great warmth by the king of Great Britain and the court of Vienna; and the latter even endeavoured to induce the king of Pruſſia to favour it, by conſenting that the treaty of Dreſden, confirming to him the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, ſhould be guarantied by the diet of the empire; a ſanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his imperial majeſty [c]. Notwithſtanding this conceſſion, Frederick ſtill continued to oppoſe the election of a king of the Romans; and, by his perſevering oppoſition, the execution of the ſcheme was prevented for many years.

About this time the king of Pruſſia publiſhed a declaration of his determination, to ſeize upon a part of the Sileſian revenues, which were due to the merchants of Great Britain, in order to indemnify his ſubjects for the loſſes which they had ſuſtained, by the depredations and violences which had been committed on them, by Engliſh

'with the execution of which this propoſed eſtabliſhment 'would have interfered. Certain it is, he exerted himſelf 'with that ſpirit and perſeverance which were peculiar to 'his character, to fruſtrate the intention of the courts of 'London and Vienna in this particular, and was 'aſſiſted with all the intrigue of the French miniſtry.' Hiſt. vol. III. p. 300. In another place the ſame hiſtorian intimates a ſuſpicion, that the king of Pruſſia himſelf "aſpired in ſecret at the imperial dignity." Ibid. p. 325.

[c] Smollett's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 301.

ſhips

ſhips of war, and privateers on the high ſeas. He alleged, that eighteen Pruſſian ſhips, and thirty-three neutral veſſels, in which the ſubjects of Pruſſia were concerned, had been unjuſtly ſeized by Engliſh cruizers. The damages were ſtated by him to amount to a very conſiderable ſum; and he maintained, that it was agreeable to the law of nations, to indemnify his ſubjects out of the money belonging to the Engliſh which was then in his hands [a].

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

An anſwer to the Pruſſian memorial was drawn up by ſome of the ableſt Engliſh civilians; and they contended, that according to the law of nations, when two powers were at war, all ſhips were liable to be ſtopt, and examined to whom they belong, and whether they were carrying contraband goods to the enemy; and that captures by ſea fell properly under the cognizance of thoſe powers, under whoſe juriſdiction the ſeizures were made. His Pruſſian majeſty, therefore, could not, they ſaid, conſiſtently with the law of nations, determine theſe diſputes in his own tribunals. They proved, that many of the facts ſtated in the Pruſſian memorial were not true; and they aſſerted, and produced evidence in ſupport of their aſſertions, that where appeals had been made to the Engliſh courts of admiralty, impartial juſtice had been adminiſtered. They maintained, that the law of nations, founded upon juſtice, equity, and reaſon, did not allow of reprizals, except in caſe of violent injuries,

[a] London Magazine, vol. XXI. p. 603, 604, 605,

directed

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

directed or ſupported by the ſtate, and when juſtice was abſolutely denied by all the tribunals, and afterwards by the prince. At all events, his Pruſſian majeſty could have no right to ſtop any part of thoſe Sileſian revenues, which were due to Britiſh ſubjects. He had engaged his royal word to pay the Sileſia debt to private men. The debt was negotiable, and many parts of it had been aſſigned to the ſubjects of other powers. It would not be eaſy to find any inſtance, in which a prince had thought proper to make repriſals upon a debt due from himſelf to private men. There was always a confidence that this would not be done; becauſe a private man lends money to a prince upon the faith of an engagement of honour; it being well known, that a prince could not be compelled, like other men, in an adverſe way, by a court of juſtice. So ſcrupulouſly had England, France, and Spain, adhered to the public faith in this reſpect, that even during the war they ſuffered no inquiry to be made, whether any part of the public debts was due to ſubjects of the enemy; though it was certain, that many of the Engliſh had money in the French funds, and that many of the French had money in the funds of England.

THE Engliſh civilians farther proved, from the nature of the Sileſia loan, that the king of Pruſſia could have no right to attach any part of it under the pretence of repriſals. This loan had been made to the late emperor of Germany, Charles VI.

in the year 1735. It was not a ſtate tranſaction, but a mere private contract with the lenders, who had advanced their money, upon the emperor's obliging himſelf and his heirs to repay the principal with intereſt, at the rate, in the manner, and at the times in the contract mentioned, without any delay, demur, deduction, or abatement whatſoever. As a ſpecific real ſecurity the emperor had mortgaged his revenues of Upper and Lower Sileſia, for the payment both of principal and intereſt; and the whole debt was to be diſcharged in the year 1745. If the money could not be paid out of the revenues of Sileſia, the emperor and his heirs ſtill remained debtors, and were bound to pay. The empreſs-queen, therefore, made it a condition of her yielding the duchy of Sileſia to his Pruſſian majeſty, that he ſhould ſtand in the place of the late emperor with reſpect to this debt. In conſideration of this ceſſion, the king of Pruſſia had engaged to her both by the treaty of Breſlaw, and by that of Dreſden, that he would pay the money due to the ſubjects of England by the empreſs-queen, according to the contract ſigned at London; and conſequently had bound himſelf to ſtand in the place of the late emperor, in reſpect to this money, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever. The late emperor could not have ſeized this money as repriſals, or even in caſe of open war between the two nations, becauſe his faith was engaged to pay it without any delay, demur, deduction, or abatement whatſoever. CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1753.

ſoever. The king of Pruſſia, therefore, could have no right to ſeize this money by way of repriſals; and this was the more manifeſt, becauſe the whole debt was to have been diſcharged in 1745, which was prior to any of the ſeizures ſtated to have been made by Engliſh cruizers. If the contract had not been broken, the money which was now attached would not have been in poſſeſſion of his Pruſſian majeſty[e].

THOUGH theſe reaſons were unanſwerable, they did not produce their proper effect on the king of Pruſſia. Of the Sileſia debt, he detained two hundred thouſand crowns, by way of repriſals[f]. In this tranſaction his conduct was unjuſtifiable. It was commendable in him to endeavour to ſecure a free navigation to his ſubjects; but he had no right to invade the property of private men, or to ſeize money which he had bound himſelf to pay by a ſolemn contract. The Britiſh government did not behave with much dignity on this occaſion; but the fact ſeems to have been, that his Britannick majeſty, from his great concern for his electoral dominions, was extremely unwilling to embroil himſelf with his good nephew, the king of Pruſſia.

IN the month of June, 1755, the king of Pruſſia went to Cleves, from whence he proceeded *incognito* to Nimeguen, and from thence

e Univ. Mag. vol. XII. p. 91—93.

f Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la derniere année, &c. par le comte de Herzberg, p. 16.

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CHAP. XV. A. D. 1755.

Amſterdam, accompanied only by colonel Balbi, and one ſervant [s]. He very particularly viewed the harbour and the ſhipping; and, during his ſtay at Amſterdam, was much pleaſed with the houſe of M. Brankamp, a merchant, who had a fine collection of pictures, and alſo with the houſe of the Jew Pinto. When Frederick went to the houſe of M. Brankamp, that gentleman was not at home; and his wife would not ſuffer the king to enter the room in which he was to wait for her huſband, till he had pulled off his ſhoes, which were not ſufficiently clean for the neatneſs of her apartment. Mrs. Brankamp is alſo ſaid to have been of ſo intractable a temper, that after her huſband had returned, and acquainted her with the high rank of their gueſt, ſhe maintained that ſhe had acted rightly, and refuſed to make any apology for the liberty that ſhe had taken with the Pruſſian monarch. As Frederick found, that his being at Amſterdam ſoon began to be rumoured about, he haſtily quitted the city with his companion the colonel, and went back to Cleves, from whence he returned to Potſdam.

During the courſe of the year 1755, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Ruſſia, which particularly excited the attention of the king of Pruſſia. His Britannick majeſty having entered into a war with France, and be-

[s] Gent. Mag. vol. XXV. p. 330. London Mag. vol. XIV. p. 398.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1755.

ing anxious to ſecure his electoral dominions, concluded a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, by which it was ſtipulated, that in caſe the dominions of his Britannick majeſty in Germany ſhould be invaded, on account of intereſts or diſputes which regarded his kingdoms, her imperial majeſty was to furniſh him with a body of troops conſiſting of forty thouſand infantry, with the neceſſary artillery, and fifteen thouſand cavalry, and alſo forty or fifty galleys, with the neceſſary crews. Theſe ſuccours were to be furniſhed, whenever they ſhould be applied for by the king of Great Britain; who was to pay to the empreſs of Ruſſia a ſubſidy of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year, which was to continue for four years; but while the Ruſſian troops were engaged in actual ſervice, the ſubſidy was to be raiſed to five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually. His Britannick Majeſty alſo, in caſe the empreſs of Ruſſia ſhould be herſelf attacked, was to ſend a ſquadron of Britiſh men of war into the Baltick [h]. This treaty gave ſo much umbrage to the king of Pruſſia [Y], that he immediately declared, by his miniſters at all the courts of Europe, that he would

[h] London Magazine, vol. XXIV. p. 577, 578, 579.

[Y] From ſome of the clauſes in this ſubſidiary treaty, concluded between Great Britain and Ruſſia, it was generally underſtood, that it was particularly intended by the treaty, not only to defend Hanover againſt any invaſion of the French, but alſo againſt any attack that might be made againſt that electorate by the king of Pruſſia.

oppoſe

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1755.

oppoſe with his utmoſt force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatſoever [i]. This declaration embarraſſed both the Britiſh and Ruſſian courts, and even gave offence to the court of France. For the French monarch had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected ſeveral great magazines in Weſtphalia, with the permiſſion of the elector of Cologn. In this ſtate of things, the monarchs of Great Britain and France both endeavoured to enter into a treaty with the king of Pruſſia; and the duke de Nivernois was ſent as ambaſſador extraordinary to Berlin, to endeavour to perſuade his Pruſſian majeſty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with France. Voltaire ſays, that the French king, from a deſire of retaining the king of Pruſſia in his alliance, ſent 'the duke de Nivernois, a man of wit, and 'who made very pretty verſes, as his ambaſſa-'dor. The embaſſy of a duke, a peer, and a poet, 'ſeemed likely to flatter the vanity and the taſte 'of Frederick; but he laughed at the king of 'France, and ſigned his treaty with England, 'the ſame day that the ambaſſador arrived at 'Berlin. He played off the duke and the peer 'very happily [z], and made an epigram upon 'the poet [k].'

The

[i] Smollett, ut Supra, p. 431.

[k] Mémoires de Voltaire, p. 149.

[z] He entertained the duke de Nivernois at Berlin with the utmoſt magnificence, and treated him with ſo much diſtinction,

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1756.

THE treaty between Great Britain and Pruſſia was ſigned on the ſixteenth of January, 1756. By this treaty it was declared, that for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preſerve her peace and tranquility, which it was feared was in danger of being diſturbed on account of the diſputes in America, the two kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops of any nation whatſoever to enter into Germany, or paſs through it, during the troubles aforeſaid, and the conſequences that might reſult from them; but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt might, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted[1]. An article was alſo added in this treaty relative to the Sileſia loan, and by which private perſons were prevented from being injured by the king of Pruſſia's detention of the funds for the payment of it. It was ſtipulated, that Great Britain ſhould pay twenty thouſand pounds, as an indemnification for the captures of the merchandize which was taken on board Pruſſian bottoms, and ſold during the

tinction that the court of England began to be apprehenſive, that Frederick was about to renew his engagements with France. The miniſter ſent to the Pruſſian court from his Britannic majeſty was Andrew Mitchell, Eſq.

[1] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 446.

war;

war; and that in return, the king of Pruſſia ſhould pay the whole of the Sileſia loan [m]. By this treaty with the king of Pruſſia, the late treaty between Great Britain and Ruſſia was virtually renounced. The Pruſſian treaty, however, was far from promoting peace in Germany, nor did it ſecure Hanover from invaſion; but it was a principal cauſe of involving Great Britain in a long, burthenſome, and expenſive continental war, which greatly increaſed the public debt, and was highly injurious to the nation.

BEFORE the treaty had taken place between Great Britain and Pruſſia, or that between Great Britain and Ruſſia, his Britannick majeſty, on the commencement of the war between him and the king of France, had made application to the empreſs-queen, to obtain ſuch auxiliaries as ſhe was to furniſh him with by treaty. But her imperial majeſty, who did not diſcover much gratitude for the ſervices ſhe had received from Great Britain, declined furniſhing thoſe auxiliaries, under the pretence, that as the conteſt between France and England related to America only, it was not a caſe of the alliance; and ſhe afterwards alſo declined even defending the Barrier in the Low Countries, alleging, that ſhe could not ſpare troops for that purpoſe, on account of the hoſtile preparations that appeared to be making againſt her by the king of

m Entick's General Hiſt. of the War from 1755 to 1763, vol. I. p. 256, edit. 1784.

Pruſſia.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1756.

Pruſſia. She undertook, however, to procure the French king's conſent to a neutrality for Hanover [A]; but this his Britannick majeſty rejected. An alliance was afterwards entered into

[A] Dr. Smollett remarks, that this would have effectually ſecured the electorate of Hanover 'from the invaſion of every 'other power but Pruſſia itſelf; and it is no ſtrained con-'jecture to ſuppoſe, that the dread of this very power was 'the true ſource of thoſe connexions in Germany, which en-'tailed ſuch a ruinous continental war upon Great Bri-'tain.' Hiſt. vol. III. p. 433, 444. In another place, this hiſtorian obſerves, 'that Had his Britannick majeſty made a 'requiſition of the Ruſſian auxiliaries, he muſt have expoſ-'ed himſelf to the reſentment of a warlike monarch, (the king 'of Pruſſia) who hovered on the ſkirts of his electorate, 'at the head of one hundred and forty thouſand men, 'and could have ſubdued the whole country in one week; 'and if he forebore to avail himſelf of the treaty with the 'czarina, he did not know how ſoon the king of Pruſſia 'might be reconciled to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's deſign 'of invaſion.' Ibid. vol. IV. p. 3. 4. In another place, the ſame writer ſays, 'Perhaps the elector of Hanover was 'more afraid of the Pruſſian monarch than of the moſt Chriſ-'tian king, knowing with what eaſe and rapidity this en-'terprizing neighbour could in a few days ſubdue the whole 'electorate.' Ibid. vol. III. p. 432.

When Voltaire was at Potſdam, in the year 1743, and was employed in endeavouring to perſuade the king of Pruſſia to enter into a new alliance with France, he repreſents Frederick as not influenced by any friendly ſentiments towards the king of Great Britain. He informs us, that he ſometimes ſent his reflexions upon paper, left half blank, form his apartment to that of the king, and Frederick anſwered his remarks in the margin. 'I have this paper ſtill,' ſays Voltaire, in which I have ſaid, "Can it be doubted, "that the houſe of Auſtria will ſeize the very firſt opportuni-"ty

into between the court of Vienna and that of Verſailles, in which the court of Peterſburgh alſo concurred; and theſe new connections produced, in the ſyſtem of European politics, a great and important revolution.

CHAP. XV. A. D. 1756.

" ty to recover Sileſia from you?" To which Frederick anſwered in the margin:

' Ils ſeront reçûs, biribi,
' A la façon de Barbari.
' Mon ami.

' This new kind of negociation was ended by a diſcourſe, ' which, in one of his moments of vivacity, he made a- ' gainſt the king of England, his dear uncle. Theſe two ' kings did not love one another. My Pruſſian monarch told ' me, that "George was the uncle of Frederick, but not of " the king of Pruſſia;" and he ended by ſaying, "Let " France declare war againſt England, and I will march." Memoirs, p. 107, 108.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Jealouſy and apprehenſion excited in the neighbouring powers, by the great army of the king of Pruſſia, his military preparations, and his indefatigable diligence in exerciſing his troops.—Eventual treaty of partition entered into againſt him, in caſe of his giving riſe to a new war.—Declaration of his Britannick majeſty, relative to the treaty concluded between him and the king of Pruſſia.

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

THE numerous army, which was conſtantly kept up by the king of Pruſſia, the indefatigable diligence with which he exerciſed his troops, his enterprizing ſpirit, and the manner in which he had wreſted Sileſia from the houſe of Auſtria, naturally excited jealouſy and apprehenſion in the ſtates that ſurrounded him. No prince of inferior power could conſider himſelf as perfectly ſafe near ſuch a neighbour; and even the moſt potent ſtates ſeemed to think it neceſſary to guard againſt his deſigns. As to himſelf, he appeared to be always prepared for war. Count Hertzberg ſays, that "his princi-" pal attention was always turned to thoſe dan-" gerous deſigns, which he ſuppoſed to be en-" tertained by the court of Vienna, for the re-" covery of Sileſia [a]." The fact was, that Frede-

[a] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. p. 9.

rick

ick knew, that he had obtained Sileſia in ſuch manner, by taking advantage of the critical ituation of Maria Thereſa on her acceſſion, by ttacking her ſo unexpectedly, and when ſhe vas ſo little prepared for ſuch an event, that here was little reaſon to imagine, that his conluct could ever be forgiven by the court of Vinna. His ſudden irruption into Bohemia, in 744, had alſo led the empreſs-queen, and her niniſters, to ſuppoſe, that whenever a favoura-le opportunity occurred, the ambition of his Pruſſian majeſty would lead him to aim at other conqueſts beſides that of Sileſia. CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

THE king of Poland, elector of Saxony, hrough whoſe electoral dominions the king of Pruſſia had repeatedly marched his troops with-ut his conſent, was alſo jealous of the deſigns f the king of Pruſſia, and much inclined to join vith thoſe princes, who were deſirous of oppoing the proceedings, and reducing the power of rederick. On the eighteenth of May, 1745, a reaty was concluded between the courts of Vienna and Saxony, wherein was the following paſſage: 'Experience having but too well ſhewn to what lengths the king of Pruſſia carries his evil intentions, in order to diſturb the repoſe of his neighbours; and that prince having, on the one hand, repeatedly invaded and laid waſte the dominions of her majeſty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and, on the other, alarmed his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, by ſeveral menaces, warlike preparations, and violent paſſages

'through

CHAP. XVI.

'through his territoties, for which it has not 'been poſſible to obtain due ſatisfaction for time 'paſt, nor ſufficient ſecurity for the future; it 'has been conſidered, that this double end can- 'not be obtained, till the ſaid formidable 'neighbour is confined within narrow 'bounds [b].' It was farther ſtated, that for theſe reaſons, his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as an auxiliary ally, and her majeſty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as a party attacked and actually at war, did mutually agree, that neither the one nor the other ſhould lay down their arms, till, beſides the conqueſt of all Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, the king of Pruſſia ſhould be farther reduced. In this treaty it was alſo ſtipulated, that in caſe Auſtria and Saxony united ſhould be able to take from the king of Pruſſia the provinces particularly ſpecified, the court of Vienna ſhould have the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz: and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, the ducheſs of Magdeburgh and Croſſen, the circles of Zullichau and Swibus, together with that part of Luſatia belonging to Pruſſia; or only part of thoſe provinces, in proportion to their conqueſts [c].

THIS treaty was ſoon after rendered abortive by the concluſion of the peace of Dreſden which

[b] Memorial, exhibiting the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Dreſden, &c. publiſhed in the Memoirs of Frederick III. king of Pruſſia, p. 188.

[c] Ib. ibid.

put

CHAP. XVI.

put an end to all hoſtilities between the contending powers. It was, however, afterwards in ſome degree revived, when a defenſive alliance was concluded at Peterſburgh, between the courts of Ruſſia and Vienna, on the 22d of May, 1746, and to which the elector of Saxony was invited to accede. Count Bruhl, miniſter to the latter, had, indeed, taken abundant pains to incenſe the empreſs of Ruſſia, and her miniſters, againſt the king of Pruſſia, and to give them the moſt unfavourable conceptions of his views and deſigns. For this purpoſe, he had not ſcrupled to employ improper intrigues, and ſometimes procured falſhoods to be artfully propagated, and communicated as truths to the Ruſſian court [d].

THE treaty of defenſive alliance concluded between the courts of Ruſſia and Vienna, at Peterſburgh, contained, beſides the public articles, ſeveral private articles, which were particularly levelled againſt the king of Pruſſia, one of which was as follows: 'Her majeſty, the 'empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, 'declares, that ſhe will obſerve, religiouſly and '*bona fide*, the peace concluded at Dreſden, 'between her majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, 'on the 25th of December, 1745; and that ſhe 'will not, firſt, depart from the renunciation 'of the right ſhe formerly had to that part of 'the duchy of Sileſia, and to the county of

[d] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony expoſed, ut ſupra, p. 209, 215, 216, &c.

'Glatz,

CHAP. XVI.

'Glatz, which have been yielded up. But if, 'contrary to all expectation and common de- 'ſire of both the contracting parties, his majeſty 'the king of Pruſſia ſhould, firſt, recede from 'the ſaid peace, whether by hoſtilely attacking 'her majeſty the empreſs queen of Hungary 'and Bohemia, her heirs or ſucceſſors, or her 'imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, or even 'the republic of Poland; in all which caſes, 'the ſaid empreſs queen's right to the ſaid part 'of Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, yielded 'up by the above-mentioned peace, and, con- 'ſequently, her imperial majeſty's guaranty 'thereof, renewed by the firſt and ſecond arti- 'cles of this treaty, ſhould again take place, 'and reaſſume their full force and vigour: both 'the ſaid high contracting parties have, in ſuch 'an unexpected caſe, but not ſooner, expreſsly 'agreed, that the ſaid guaranty ſhall fully take 'place, and be completely fulfilled, with this 'additional and moſt binding promiſe; that, in 'order to avert the common danger of ſuch 'an hoſtile attack, they will immediately enter 'into the moſt cloſe and confidential concert; 'ſtrictly enjoin the ſame mutual confidence 'and good underſtanding to their reſpective 'miniſters at foreign courts; and faithfully 'communicate to each other whatever either 'of them ſhall diſcover of the views, deſigns, 'or intentions of the enemy: and, laſtly, hold 'in readineſs, in the bordering or neareſt 'counties, viz. her Roman imperial majeſty in 'Bohemia,

'Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary; and her 'Ruſſian imperial majeſty in Livonia, Eſtonia, 'and other neighbouring places, thirty thouſand 'men at leaſt, namely, twenty thouſand foot, 'and ten thouſand horſe; in ſuch manner, that 'whenever Pruſſia ſhall make an hoſtile attack 'upon either of the parties, the ſaid thirty thou-'ſand men may, within two months at fartheſt, 'or at the utmoſt three months after a previous 'and amicable requiſition, march to the aſſiſt-'ance of the army attacked. But as it is 'eaſy to foreſee, that ſixty thouſand men will 'not be ſufficient to repel an hoſtile attack, to 're-conquer the provinces ceded by the treaty 'of Dreſden, and to ſecure the public tranquility 'more effectually for the time to come; the two 'contracting parties have therefore farther en-'gaged themſelves to each other, that, in the 'caſe aforeſaid, not only thirty thouſand men, but 'double that number, viz. ſixty thouſand men, 'that is to ſay, forty thouſand foot, and twenty 'thouſand horſe, ſhall be employed for that pur-'poſe, by each contracting party, and the ſoon-'er the better; both their ſaid imperial majeſties 'obliging themſelves, to that end, to aſſemble 'reſpectively the ſaid number of ſixty thouſand 'men, as ſpeedily as the diſtance of the leaſt re-'mote parts, from whence the troops can be 'drawn, will poſſibly admit. The troops to be 'appointed for that purpoſe, on the part of her 'Ruſſian imperial majeſty, ſhall be employed as 'well by land as by water, according as the 'occaſions

CHAP. XVI.

CHAP. XVI.

'occaſions ſhall then be found moſt proper; 'but, on the part of her Roman imperial ma-'jeſty, they ſhall be employed by land only; 'in ſuch a manner, that the ſaid troops may, 'in the beginning, as mutual conveniency ſhall 'allow, and after previous concert, make a di-'verſion, at one and the ſame time, in the ſaid 'king of Pruſſia's dominions; and afterwards, 'if poſſible, unite and carry on the operations 'with combined force.'—'And whereas, in 'contracting this heartily and well-meant en-'gagement, and by ſuch a powerful aſſiſtance 'to be given, and diverſion to be made in fa-'vour of the empreſs-queen, (if ſhe ſhould be 'attacked,) her Ruſſian imperial majeſty has 'not the leaſt intention to make any new con-'queſts upon ſuch an occaſion, or to appropri-'ate them to herſelf; and as ſhe has like-'wiſe conſented to employ the aforeſaid ſixty 'thouſand men by water as well as by land, 'and the equipment of a fleet neceſſary there-'to will require a very extraordinary expence; 'which, conſidering the advantage that may 'be expected from it (as the enemy may 'be more effectually annoyed, and his for-'ces more divided, by water than by land) 'muſt be accounted an army far exceeding 'the ſixty thouſand men; for theſe reaſons, 'her majeſty the empreſs-queen of Hunga-'ry and Bohemia obliges herſelf, in order 'the more fully to demonſtrate her gratitude, to 'pay, within a year, (to be reckoned from the 'time

'time that Seliſia and Glatz ſhall be again in her poſſeſſion) to her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, two millions of German florins; from which ſum ſhe ſhall not be entitled to make any deduction, on account of contributions, that may have been raiſed in the enemy's country[e].'

CHAP. XVI.

When the court of Saxony was invited to accede to the treaty of Peterſburgh, the count de Vicedom, and the ſieur Pezold, the Saxon miniſters at Peterſburgh, were directed to declare, that their court was ready to accede not only to the treaty itſelf, but alſo to the ſecret article againſt Pruſſia, and to concur in the arrangements made by the two courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh, provided better meaſures were taken than before, as well for the ſafety and defence of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, proportional to the efforts and progreſs which ſhould be made. As to the laſt point, the court of Saxony declared, that if the empreſs-queen, upon any freſh attack from the king of Pruſſia, ſhould, by their aſſiſtance, not only re-conquer Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, but alſo reduce him within narrower bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would ſtand to the partition-treaty concluded between his Poliſh majeſty and the empreſs-queen at Leipſic in 1745; propoſing, however, ſome alteration in the ſtipulations, and that effectual meaſures ſhould be adopted for the ſecurity of

[e] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, ut ſupra, p. 190, 191, 192.

Saxony.

CHAP. XVI.

Saxony. But as ſuch meaſures were not yet agreed upon, the court of Dreſden did not formally accede to the treaty, and repreſented in ſtrong terms the danger to which Saxony might be expoſed, if an open and decided part were to be taken againſt the king of Pruſſia by his Poliſh majeſty.

In ſome inſtructions ſent from the court of Dreſden to the Saxon miniſters at Peterſburgh, dated May 23, 1747, is the following paſſage: 'As to the ſecret article, which regards even-'tual and ſtronger meaſures againſt a new, ſud-'den, and unexpected attack from the king of 'Pruſſia, the king acknowledges therein the 'prudent forecaſt of the two empreſſes, in 'thinking beforehand how to concert proper 'meaſures and powerfully aſſiſt each other, if, 'contrary to better expectations, and notwith-'ſtanding their ſcrupulous attention to obſerve 'their treaties with the ſaid prince, the latter 'ſhould invade the dominions of either of them; 'and in this caſe the king is ready to join in 'the ſame meaſures. But as he is the moſt 'expoſed to the reſentment of ſo formidable 'and reſtleſs a neighbour, witneſs the ſad expe-'rience his majeſty has lately had of it, their 'imperial majeſties will not be ſurprized, that 'the king, before entering into ſuch a new, even-'tual, and extenſive engagement, ſhould take 'better precautions, as well for his ſecurity 'and mutual defence, as for his being indem-'nified, and recompenſed proportionally to 'his

'his efforts, and the progreſs made againſt ſuch 'an aggreſſor[f].'

In a memorial preſented by the Saxon miniſters at Peterſburgh, in the courſe of the ſame year, is alſo the following paſſage: 'His ma-'jeſty entirely approves of the wiſe and effec-'tual meaſures which the imperial courts have 'eventually taken, in caſe that his majeſty the 'king of Pruſſia, notwithſtanding the exact ob-'ſervation of the peace concluded with that 'prince, ſhould again attack, in a hoſtile man-'ner, the dominions of either party; and he is 'ready to concur therein. But his majeſty has 'ſtill greater reaſon, than the two imperial 'courts, to reflect maturely on it, from the ſad 'experience he has lately had, the king of 'Pruſſia having taken a pretence, from the ſuc-'cours he was obliged to furniſh to her majeſty, 'the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, 'to declare war againſt him; and moreover the 'electorate of Saxony, by its ſituation, is ſo much 'expoſed to his reſentment, that, if it were not 'immediately aſſiſted, it would be impoſſible, by 'its own forces, to withſtand ſuch ſudden attacks 'as have been executed by the king of Pruſſia.'

In the year 1751, a freſh invitation was made to the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, to accede to the treaty of Peterſburgh; and his Poliſh majeſty declared his readineſs to do it,

[f] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, ut ſupra, p. 195, 196.

CHAP. XVI.

in a memorial delivered to the Ruſſian minister at Dreſden, and ſent full powers, and other neceſſary papers for that purpoſe, to M. Funck, his miniſter at Peterſburgh; but required, at the ſame time, that the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, ſhould previouſly be induced to accede to the ſecret articles of the treaty of Peterſburgh[s]. But his Britannick majeſty could not be prevailed upon to do this; and, therefore, his Poliſh majeſty ſtill declined formally to accede to the treaty.

THE empreſs of Ruſſia, and her miniſters, though they had no immediate quarrel with the king of Pruſſia, had formed very unfavourable ideas of his deſigns; and count Bruhl, the Saxon miniſter, omitted no opportunity of encreaſing their animoſity againſt him, in which he was aſſiſted by the miniſters of the court of Vienna. In a letter from count Bruhl to M. Funck at Peterſburgh, dated Feb. 6, 1754, is the following paſſage: 'I do not doubt but the court of 'Ruſſia is already informed of the different 'movements and arrangements which the king 'of Pruſſia is making in the kingdom of that 'name, with the greateſt celerity and the utmoſt 'ſecrecy, with reſpect to commerce, the coin, 'and eſpecially military preparations. I alſo 'hope that court will be the more attentive 'thereto, as thoſe preparations have been re-'marked to ſucceed the great augmentation of

[s] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, ut ſupra, p. 203, 204.

'troops,

'troops, which the empreſs of Ruſſia lately or- CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.
'dered to be made in her neighbouring provin-
'ces, and that they ſeem to be in conſequence
'thereof. I have, however, thought proper to
'communicate to you the advices on this head,
'which we have ſucceſſively received, in order
'that you may make uſe of them, in your con-
'ferences with the miniſtry of the court where
'you reſide. We are very attentive thereto,
'being well ſatisfied of the king of Pruſſia's
'great deſire to intermeddle in the domeſtic
'affairs of Poland; that his projects to ruin the
'commerce of Poland, and particularly that of
'Dantzick, become every day more and more
'conſpicuous; and that his views of aggran-
'dizement, on that ſide, are certainly one of
'the moſt flattering objects of his ſchemes[h].'

Of the confederacy that was forming againſt him, in caſe of his giving riſe to a new war, and the correſpondence between the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Saxony, the king of Pruſſia was far from being unacquainted. The Saxon diſpatches were regularly tranſmitted to him by the poſt, for a conſiderable time, as we are informed by count Hertzberg, through the treachery of a Saxon ſecretary[i]. The cauſes of this confederacy againſt the Pruſſian monarch are thus ſtated by Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis*

[h] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony expoſed, p. 210, 211.

[i] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. p. 17.

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

XV. 'Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, was leagued 'with the empreſs Maria Thereſa by antient 'treaties, by the common intereſt which united 'them againſt the Turks, and by reciprocal af- 'fection. Auguſtus III. king of Poland, and 'elector of Saxony, being reconciled to the em- 'preſs-queen, and attached to Ruſſia, to which 'he owed the title of king of Poland, was cloſe- 'ly connected with theſe two ſovereigns. Theſe 'three potentates had each their complaints 'againſt king Frederick. Maria Thereſa had 'ſeen Sileſia torn from her houſe; Auguſtus, 'and his council, wanted an indemnification for 'Saxony, ruined by the king of Pruſſia in 1745; 'and there ſubſiſted between Elizabeth and Fre- 'derick ſome perſonal ſubjects of complaint, 'which have often more influence than could 'be expected upon the deſtiny of ſtates[k].' In his *Memoirs*, Voltaire alſo ſays, that 'in 1756, 'England made a piratical war upon France for 'ſome acres of ſnow; at the ſame time that the 'empreſs-queen of Hungary appeared very de- 'ſirous to recover her dear Sileſia, which had 'been wreſted from her by the king of Pruſ- 'ſia. She negociated for this purpoſe with the 'empreſs of Ruſſia, and with the king of Poland, 'that is, in quality of elector of Saxony; for 'nobody negociated with the Poles[l].'

[k] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

[l] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 147.

AFTER

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

AFTER the concluſion of the treaty between the king of Great Britain and Pruſſia, a defenſive alliance was alſo entered into between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, and the French court alſo acceded to the treaty of Peterſburgh. 'It 'was now,' ſays Voltaire, 'that the ancient 'enmity between the houſes of France and Auſ-'tria, which had continued encreaſing ever ſince 'the times of Charles V. and Francis I. gave way 'to a friendſhip which appeared cordially eſta-'bliſhed, to the aſtoniſhment of all the nations 'of Europe. The king of France, who had 'carried on ſo cruel a war againſt Maria Thereſa 'became her ally; and the king of Pruſſia, who 'had been allied to France, became its enemy. 'France and Auſtria were thus united, after 'three hundred years ſpent in a bloody diſ-'cord[m].'

SOON after the concluſion of the treaty between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, complaints were exhibited by the miniſters of the empreſs queen at foreign courts, that her good intentions had been miſrepreſented, as if the friendly alliance, lately concluded between her imperial majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, contained ſecret articles, calculated for the total ſuppreſſion of the Proteſtant religion, and to influence the election of a king of the Romans, and that, upon ſuch falſe ſuggeſtions, there had been a propoſal made for a league of the Proteſtant courts againſt the houſe of Auſtria. It

[m] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

was

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

was alſo inſinuated, that the ruin of the Catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia. In anſwer to theſe complaints and inſinuations, his Britannick majeſty cauſed a memorial to be delivered to the diet at Ratiſbon, in which he expreſſed his ſurprize to find, that the treaty, which he had concluded with the king of Pruſſia [B], was induſtriouſly repreſented

[B] Mr. Entick has made the following obſervations relative to the two treaties entered into by king George II. the firſt with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and the ſecond with the king of Pruſſia. 'The king of Pruſſia's martial ſpirit,' ſays he, 'his diſguſt for a long time with the houſe of Hanover, 'his general attachment to the intereſt of France, which 'might diſpoſe him to become a proper inſtrument to exe'cute the projects of the French miniſtry, already provided 'for, againſt the electorate of Hanover, and its dependen'cies, put the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, upon 'meaſures to defeat any attempt to his prejudice by the aids 'of Pruſſia; which could not be done ſo effectually by any 'other means, as by engaging a power ſufficient to deter 'him, and to keep him quiet, with an army hovering over, 'and ready to break in upon his regal dominions, the mo'ment his Pruſſian majeſty dared to join France in the exe'cution of the invaſion of Hanover. This was certainly a 'good reaſon for the Ruſſian treaty.'—'But when his majeſ'ty diſcovered an inclination in the king of Pruſſia to ſhake 'off his French connexions, and to become ſincerely an ally 'to Great Britain, and was from thence thoroughly perſuad'ed, that his electoral dominions had nothing to fear from 'his arms, it made the treaty with Ruſſia uſeleſs; the pow'er, whoſe motions the Ruſſian army was hired to watch, 'having become a friend. The only dread, that now ap'peared, was an invaſion by the French; whoſe entrance 'into

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

ſented as a ground of apprehenſion and umbrage, and eſpecially with reſpect to religion. That nevertheleſs, he obſerved, the whole empire muſt be ſenſible, that he had always made it a rule to ſupport the rights of each of the religions which prevailed in the empire, without any diſtinction of perſons; to maintain juſtice; to enforce the execution of the laws and conſtitutions of the empire; to protect its liberties and the public peace; and to contribute to keep up in the Germanic body ſuch a ſyſtem, as appeared moſt conducive to its ſafety. That,

' into the empire was become the ſole object of thoſe councils, which were held for the protection of Hanover. The beſt means to preſerve Hanover, was to ſeek for, and gain an alliance, capable of reſiſting any foreign power, ſuch as the French, from entering the empire. This could not be done by the Ruſſian troops, which were cantoned in Lithuania, and other diſtant ſtations; but might be effectually undertaken with the aid of the king of Pruſſia. Therefore, as the ſafety of Hanover was the chief object of theſe two treaties and that ſafety could be more effectually maintained by making the enemy, of whom we were jealous, a friend and ally, and to join in keeping the French from entering the empire, it was a wiſe and good meaſure.' General Hiſt. of the War from 1755 to 1763, vol. I. p. 257, 258. edit. 1784. Mr. Entick, however, afterwards adds, that 'this treaty was ſoon perceived to contain the ſeeds of a German war:' and whatever might be the ſentiments of this writer concerning the wiſdom of the meaſure, the Pruſſian treaty was certainly productive of an immenſe expence to Great Britain, it intended to throw Auſtria into the arms of France, which was an event not favourable to the balance of power in Europe, and it did not even ſecure Hanover from invaſion.

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CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

in conſequence of thoſe principles, he had neglected nothing that might moſt effectually tend to the ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; but a war having broken out between Great Britain and France, about their poſſeſſions in America, and France having made manifeſt diſpoſitions for invading the electorate of Hanover, his Britannick majeſty, being denied by the empreſs-queen the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, had been obliged to conclude a defenſive alliance with the king of Pruſſia; but that this was without any prejudice to either of the religions exerciſed in the empire; the contracting parties having had no views in that treaty, but ſuch as were perfectly conſiſtent with the public peace and tranquility. It was farther obſerved, that time would demonſtrate, how little it was the intereſt of the empreſs-queen to enter into ſtrict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars againſt the archducal houſe of Auſtria, and always endeavoured, as it ſuited her views, to excite diſtruſt and diſſenſion among the princes and ſtates that compoſe the Germanic body[n].

[n] Entick's General Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 52, 53, 54. Smollett's Hiſt. of England from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 5, 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The king of Pruſſia demands an explanation of the empreſs-queen, relative to the deſign of her military preparations.—Is diſſatisfied with her anſwer, and reſolves on the immediate commencement of hoſtilities.—Publiſhes a declaration of his motives for oppoſing the court of Vienna.—Demands a paſſage for his troops through the electorate of Saxony.—Enters the electorate with a large army, and publiſhes a manifeſto.—The king of Poland retires from Dreſden, and repairs to the camp at Pirna.

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

IN the laſt chapter I have given an account of the formidable confederacy that was entered into againſt the king of Pruſſia in caſe of his giving riſe to a new war; and it ſoon appeared, that the court of Vienna, having ſtrengthened itſelf by its alliances with Ruſſia and with France, and reckoning alſo upon the aſſiſtance of the elector of Saxony, was far from being unwilling that a new war ſhould commence. To this the empreſs-queen, and her miniſters, were the more inclined, from the hope of thereby regaining poſſeſſion of Sileſia, and even of making farther conqueſts upon the Pruſſian monarch, if their arms, and thoſe of their allies, ſhould prove victorious. As to Frederick, he was always prepared for war, and was not eaſily to be intimidated by the number or the power of his enemies. He was alſo well known to be eminently diſtinguiſhed

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

guiſhed by the vigour of his reſolutions, the deciſion of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions.

GREAT military preparations had now been made both by the empreſs-queen, and by the king of Pruſſia: and in the month of July, 1756, M. Klingraafe, the Pruſſian miniſter at Vienna, acquainted count Kaunitz, that he had received an expreſs from the king his maſter, which brought him ſome diſpatches. The contents of theſe diſpatches, he ſaid, he was to lay before the empreſs-queen in perſon; and he was enjoined for that purpoſe to demand of her imperial majeſty a private audience, which he deſired the count would be pleaſed to procure for him. To this the count aſſented; but at the ſame time informed the Pruſſian miniſter, that it was proper he ſhould be enabled, at leaſt in general terms, to give the empreſs previous notice of the nature of the communications, which he had orders to make to her majeſty. M. Klingraafe thereupon told him, that he was charged to demand amicably, and by way of eclairciſſement, in the name of the king his maſter, what was the intention of the armaments, and warlike preparations, making in the dominions of the empreſs-queen, and whether they might not, perhaps, concern him; which however, he could not imagine, as he was conſcious that he had not given the leaſt occaſion for them. Count Kaunitz replied, that he could not then make an anſwer to what was ſaid on the part of his Pruſſian majeſty; but he would immediately make a report

report of it to the empreſs, and procure M. Klingraafe the audience he deſired. In the mean time, he could not, however, he ſaid, forbear telling him, that he was much ſurprized at the explanation which the king his maſter demanded, concerning the meaſures taken in the empreſs's dominions, when her imperial majeſty had expreſſed no uneaſineſs, or umbrage, at the great motions and preparations which had been previouſly made in the Pruſſian army [a]. CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

On the 26th of July, M. Klingraafe obtained an audience of the empreſs-queen, and communicated to her majeſty the inſtructions he had received from his maſter. But the audience was extremely ſhort, agreeably to the advice which had been given to the empreſs by her miniſters. She only replied, "That in the violent and general criſis which Europe was then in, her duty, "and the dignity of her crown, required her, to "take ſufficient meaſures for her own ſecurity, "and to make armaments, as well for her own "defence, as for the ſafety of her friends and "allies; but that theſe armaments did not tend "to the prejudice of any body." Maria Thereſa then ſuddenly broke off the audience with a nod, without entering into any farther detail [b].

As this general and laconic anſwer of the empreſs was not ſatisfactory to the king of Pruſſia, he ſoon after ſent freſh orders to his miniſter,

[a] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony expoſed, publiſhed in the Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 220.

[b] Ibid. p. 166, 221.

to

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

to repreſent, by a memorial, that after the king had diſſembled, as long as he thought conſiſtent with his ſafety and honour, the bad deſigns which were imputed to the empreſs would no longer ſuffer him to diſguiſe his ſentiments. He now, therefore, thought it neceſſary to inform her, that he was acquainted with the offenſive projects which had been formed between the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh. He knew, that they had engaged to attack him ſuddenly, with an army of two hundred thouſand men: a deſign which would have been executed in the ſpring of the year, had not the Ruſſian army wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a ſufficient quantity of corn for their ſupport. His Pruſſian majeſty conſtituted the empreſs, he ſaid, arbiter of peace or war. If ſhe deſired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or poſitive aſſurance, that ſhe had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next. But, it was added, he ſhould conſider an ambiguous anſwer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witneſs, that the empreſs alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that ſhould be ſpilt, and of all the diſmal conſequences that would attend the commiſſion of hoſtilities [c].

An anſwer was returned on the part of the empreſs-queen, in which it was ſtated, That his majeſty the king of Pruſſia had already been

[c] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 8, 9.

employed,

employed, for ſome time, in all kinds of the moſt conſiderable preparations of war, and the moſt diſquieting with regard to the public tranquility, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her majeſty, concerning the military diſpoſitions that were making in her dominions; diſpoſitions on which ſhe had not reſolved, till after the preparations of his Pruſſian majeſty had been made. Her majeſty, it was ſaid, might have declined explaining herſelf on thoſe ſubjects, as they required no explanation; but ſhe had been pleaſed to declare, with her own mouth, to M. Klingraafe, that the critical ſtate of public affairs rendered the meaſures ſhe was taking abſolutely neceſſary for her own ſafety, and that of her allies; but that, in other reſpects, they tended to the prejudice of no perſon whatſoever. Her imperial majeſty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment ſhe pleaſed on the circumſtances of the times; and it belonged to none but herſelf to eſtimate her own danger. Her declaration, ſhe ſaid, was ſo clear, that ſhe never imagined it would be thought otherwiſe. Her imperial majeſty complained of the offenſive language which was made uſe of in M. Klingraafe's memorial, and which ſhe conſidered as inconſiſtent with that decorum, which ſovereigns owe to each other. She afterwards declared, that the information communicated to his Pruſſian majeſty, of an *offenſive* alliance againſt him, ſubſiſting between herſelf and the empreſs of Ruſſia, together with the circumſtances and pretended ſtipulations of that alliance, were abſolutely falſe and forged, for no ſuch treaty did exiſt,

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

exiſt, or ever had exiſted. After receiving this anſwer, the king of Pruſſia once more declared, by his miniſter at Vienna, that if the empreſs-queen would ſign a poſitive aſſurance, that ſhe would not attack him either that year, or the following, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be reſtored to their former footing. But the empreſs declined ſigning any ſuch declaration, alledging, that ſuch an aſſurance could not be more binding, than the ſolemn treaty by which his Pruſſian majeſty was already ſecured; a treaty, which, her imperial majeſty ſaid, ſhe had no intention to violate [d].

FREDERICK now formed the reſolution of immediately commencing hoſtilities; and thereby involved himſelf in a long and moſt hazardous war, in the courſe of which he acquired a high degree of military fame, but which occaſioned a great effuſion of human blood, and was productive of much calamity to the Pruſſian dominions, as well as to the neighbouring countries. Even count Hertzberg himſelf ſeems not quite ſatisfied with the precipitation, with which the king engaged in this war. Speaking of the deſigns which were ſuppoſed to be formed againſt Frederick, in conſequence of the eventual treaty of partition, he ſays, 'It is manifeſt, that 'ſuch deſigns exiſted, but as they were only 'conditional, and depended on the event of the 'king of Pruſſia giving riſe to a war, it muſt al-'ways remain problematical, whether theſe

[d] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 9, 10.

'projects

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

'projects would ever have been put in execution, 'and whether it would have been moſt dangerous 'to wait the event, or to anticipate it. How-'ever that be, the curioſity of the king, and the 'inconſiderable circumſtance of treachery in a 'Saxon clerk, were the certain cauſe of that 'dreadful war of ſeven years, which immorta-'lized Frederick and the Pruſſian nation, but 'which alſo almoſt overwhelmed it, and brought 'it to the brink of deſtruction[e].'

WITH a view of juſtifying his conduct in tak-ing up arms to the other powers of Europe, Frederick publiſhed, at Berlin, "A Declarati-"on of the motives which have obliged his ma-"jeſty, the king of Pruſſia, to prevent the de-"ſigns of the court of Vienna." In this piece, his Pruſſian majeſty endeavoured to ſhew, that though he was the firſt who took up arms, yet he was not the aggreſſor; he ſtated the haughty behaviour of the empreſs-queen, and her refuſal to give any ſatisfactory anſwer to the requiſitions which he had made to her by his miniſ-ter, M. Klingraafe; and he repreſented the court of Vienna as having formed the moſt pernicious deſigns againſt the liberties of the Germanic body in general, as well as againſt himſelf. His declaration concluded with the following paſſage: 'Since the court of Vienna 'will break through treaties guarantied by all 'the powers of Europe; ſince their ambition 'wantonly overturns the moſt ſacred bars to the

[e] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 18, 19.

'avarice

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

'avarice of mankind; and ſince they want to 'open to themſelves a way to deſpotiſm over 'the German empire; and their vaſt deſigns 'aim at nothing leſs than to overthrow that re- 'public of princes, which it is the duty of em- 'perors to ſupport; the king has reſolved ge- 'nerouſly to oppoſe the enemies of his country, 'and to prevent the fatal conſequences of this 'wicked project. His majeſty declares, that the 'liberties of the Germanic body ſhall not be bu- 'ried but in the ſame grave with Pruſſia. He 'calls heaven to witneſs, that having, to no 'purpoſe, employed the moſt proper means 'to preſerve his own dominions, and all Ger- 'many, from the calamities of war, with which 'they were threatened, he is forced to take up 'arms, to diſſipate a conſpiracy formed againſt 'his poſſeſſions and his crown, after having tri- 'ed every method of reconciliation, even ſo far 'as to leave the empreſs arbiter of peace or war. 'If his majeſty departs from his uſual modera- 'tion, it is only becauſe it ceaſes to be a virtue, 'when his honour, his independency, his coun- 'try, and his crown, are at ſtake[f].'

But before the publication of this piece, the Pruſſian miniſter at Dreſden had demanded a private audience of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and expreſſed himſelf to the follow- ing purpoſe: That his royal maſter, the king of Pruſſia, finding himſelf obliged by the empreſs-

[f] London Magazine, vol. XXV. p. 483.

queen

queen to attack her, and to march into Bohemia through the territories of Saxony, he accordingly, in the name of the king his master, demanded a passage for his troops through the electoral dominions of his Polish majesty, promising that they should observe the strictest discipline, and take all the care of the country, that the circumstances would permit; and that his Polish majesty, and his royal family, might at the same time depend upon being in perfect safety, and of having the greatest respect paid them on the part of his Prussian majesty. But it was added by the Prussian minister, that there could be no room for surprize, that the king of Prussia should take such measures as might prevent a return of what happened in the year 1744; and that the necessity which the king his master was under of acting in this manner, could only be imputed to the calamity of the times, and to the behaviour of the court of Vienna. His Polish majesty replied, 'That as he was at 'peace with all the world, and under no engage-'ment, relative to the present object, with any 'of the powers actually at war, or with any of 'those about to enter into it, he did not expect 'such a requisition, and especially in the form 'in which it had been made to him; but that 'he should give an answer upon this subject in 'writing, and hoped that his Prussian majesty, 'contenting himself with a quiet passage, would 'neither forget the respect due to a sovereign, 'nor that which all the members of the Germa-'nic body reciprocally owed to each other s.'

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

s Entick's General Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 67, 68.

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

His Poliſh majeſty ſoon after ordered a written anſwer to be delivered to the Pruſſian miniſter, in which it was obſerved, 'That his majeſty the king of Poland, deſiring nothing more ardently than the peace of the Roman empire, was extremely concerned to hear of the differences between the houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburgh, ſo as to occaſion the march of the Pruſſian troops into Bohemia; but that he did not refuſe the requiſition of a paſſage for theſe troops through his dominions, provided they did no damage in their march; and that the Pruſſian troops ſhould obſerve a ſtrict diſcipline, according to the declaration of his Pruſſian majeſty.' It was farther added, 'That the king of Poland expected that his Pruſſian majeſty ſhould previouſly make known at what time, through what place, and in what numbers, his troops were to paſs, in order that the king of Poland might appoint commiſſaries, and give them inſtructions how to direct the troops in their march. He hoped, that his Pruſſian majeſty, as a friend and good neighbour, would pay a regard to the bad ſtate of the country, and the ſcarcity occaſioned by the indifferent harveſt that year; that he would cauſe ready money, and a market-price, to be paid for every thing that his troops might want; and that he would let their ſtay be as ſhort as poſſible [b].'

But the regulations and ſtipulations required by the king of Poland, previouſly to the march-

[b] Entick's General Hiſt. of the War, p. 69, 70.

ing

ing of the Pruſſian troops through his dominions, were not ſuitable to the views and deſigns of the king of Pruſſia. Before any formalities of this kind could take place, the Pruſſian troops had already entered the electorate of Saxony. The Pruſſian army conſiſted of near ſeventy battalions, and eighty ſquadrons, and being divided into three different corps, entered the electorate on the 29th of Auguſt. The right wing compoſed one of theſe corps, and marched, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, from the duchy of Magdebourg, by Hall, Leipſic, Freyberg, and thence towards Dreſden, the place intended for the rendezvous of the army. The center, commanded by the king in perſon, compoſed the ſecond corps, and marched on the left of the Elbe, by Wittenberg, Torgau, Meiſſen, and thence by Keſſeldorff to Dreſden. The left wing formed the third corps, and was commanded by the duke of Bevern, who marched from the neighbourhood of Franckfort on the Oder, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, oppoſite to Pirna. The whole Pruſſian army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, on the ſixth of September [i].

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

When the king of Pruſſia marched his army into Saxony, he publiſhed the following mani-

i Hiſtory of the late War in Germany, between the king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs of Germany, and her allies, &c. written by major-general Lloyd, who ſerved ſeveral campaigns in the Auſtrian army, and afterwards in that of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, vol. I. p. 14, edit. 4to. 1766.

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

feſto: 'As the unjuſt conduct, which the court 'of Vienna has hitherto obſerved towards his 'majeſty the king of Pruſſia, and the dangerous 'views of that court againſt his majeſty's domi-'nions, lay him under a neceſſity of taking 'proper meaſures for protecting his territories 'and ſubjects againſt the ſtorm with which they 'are threatened, by an enemy who hath rejected 'with contempt all propoſals of friendſhip; his 'Pruſſian majeſty, from a juſt conſideration of 'the prejudice, which might reſult from the 'intentions of the court of Vienna towards him, 'could not forbear taking the diſagreeable reſo-'lution, to march his troops into the hereditary 'dominions of his majeſty the king of Poland, 'elector of Saxony.

'His majeſty proteſts before God and man, 'that on account of his perſonal eſteem and 'friendſhip for the king of Poland, elector of 'Saxony, he would not have proceeded to this 'extremity, had he not been forced to it by the 'laws of war, the fatality of the preſent con-'juncture, and the neceſſity of providing for 'the defence and ſecurity of his ſubjects.

'The events of the year 1744, in which his 'Pruſſian majeſty employed the power, which 'the providence of God had put into his hands, 'to hinder the court of Vienna from ſubjecting 'the Germanic empire to her yoke, and op-'preſſing its head, are ſtill freſh in memory. 'All the world knows the tenderneſs, which his

'majeſty

majeſty ſhewed towards the court of Saxony, during the campaign of that year; the bad conſequences which that court felt from its engagements with his majeſty's enemies; its furniſhing troops to aſſiſt in invading his territories in Sileſia; and entering into the ſcheme for attacking him in the center of his dominions, and even in his capital. CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

'THE apprehenſion of being again expoſed to ſuch enterprizes, has laid his Pruſſian majeſty under a neceſſity of being upon his guard, and of taking, in his preſent ſituation, thoſe precautions which prudence dictates. As to the reſt, as it is againſt his inclination, that he ſees himſelf forced to march his troops into the territories of Saxony, he hath thought proper to declare, in the moſt ſolemn manner, as well to his majeſty the king of Poland, as to all Europe, that he was not induced to take this ſtep by any hoſtile views againſt his Poliſh majeſty, or againſt his dominions; aſſuring them, with great ſincerity, that his troops enter not Saxony as enemies, that he marches them into it only for his own ſafety, and that of his dominions; and that he hath given orders, that they ſhall obſerve, agreeably to his royal intentions, the beſt order, and the moſt exact diſcipline.

'AFTER the urgent motives that have conſtrained his Pruſſian majeſty, againſt his will, to take this ſtep, he deſires nothing more ardently, than the happy minute that ſhall procure

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

'cure him the ſatisfaction of reſtoring to his 'majeſty, the king of Poland, his hereditary do- 'minions, which the king hath not ſeized, and 'doth not occupy, but as a DEPOSIT, which is, 'and always ſhall be, ſacred to him[k].'

WHEN the king of Poland found that his dominions were likely to be invaded, he had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and to aſſemble in a ſtrong camp, marked out for them between Pirna and Konigſtein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. On the approach of the Pruſſians, the king of Poland himſelf repaired to this camp, with his two ſons, Xaverius and Charles; leaving the queen, and the reſt of the royal family, at Dreſden. Of this capital the king of Pruſſia took poſſeſſion on the eighth of September, when he was viſited by lord Stormont, the Engliſh ambaſſador at that court, accompanied by count Salmour, a Saxon miniſter, who made a declaration, on the part of his maſter, that it was his Poliſh majeſty's intention, not to take any part in the differences that had ariſen between his Pruſſian majeſty and the empreſs-queen. The Saxon miniſter aſſured his Pruſſian majeſty, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that this was the abſolute determination of his maſter, the king of Poland; and he hoped that ſuch ſtrong aſſurances as theſe would ſatisfy the king of Pruſſia, and prevent his requiring any thing of his Poliſh majeſty, or his ſubjects, which was

[k] London Mag. vol. XXV. p. 442, 443.

contrary

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

contrary to the liberty of a prince of the empire, or that ſhould oblige him to have recourſe to the Germanic body, and the guaranties of the treaties of peace, for the due execution of thoſe treaties.

The Britiſh and Saxon miniſters were received with great politeneſs by Frederick, who aſſured them, that he deſired nothing more than the neutrality propoſed by his Poliſh majeſty; but that, in order to render that neutrality more ſecure and permanent, it would be proper for the king of Poland to ſeparate his army, and to ſend the troops that he had aſſembled at Pirna back into their quarters; and that, after he had given this proof of his upright intentions, he himſelf would take a pleaſure, by an equal condeſcenſion, to manifeſt a diſpoſition to give real marks of his friendſhip for his poliſh majeſty, and to concert with him, what meaſures might be proper to be taken, according to the ſituation of affairs [1].

To the propoſition of the king of Pruſſia of removing the Saxon troops from the camp at Pirna, the king of Poland would not conſent. He naturally thought, that another prince could have no right to dictate to him, where he ſhould ſtation his own troops in his own dominions. He therefore reſolved to continue in his camp, which was very ſtrong, and which he appeared to conſider as impregnable.

1 Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 70, 71. Smollet's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The king of Pruſſia ſeizes the revenues of the electorate of Saxony.—Cauſes the ſecret cabinet at Dreſden, containing the archives of the electorate, to be broken open, notwithſtanding the perſonal oppoſition of the queen of Poland.—He attends divine ſervice at a Lutheran church in Dreſden.—The king of Poland ſolicits the meditation and aſſiſtance of the neutral powers of Europe, on the king of Pruſſia's invaſion of his electorate, and taking poſſeſſion of its government and revenues.—Memorial preſented by his Poliſh majeſty's reſident at the Hague to the ſtates-general.—Declaration of the empreſs of Ruſſia againſt the conduct of the king of Pruſſia.—Declaration of the king of France againſt him.—Three imperial decrees iſſued againſt him.—He publiſhes an elaborate memorial, in vindication of himſelf.

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

WHATEVER plauſible declarations might be made by Frederick, on his entrance into Saxony, it was ſoon manifeſt to the king of Poland, and to the inhabitants of his electorate, that they had little to expect either from the moderation, the equity, or the humanity of the Pruſſian monarch. When the Pruſſians arrived at Leipſic, an order was immediately iſſued to the inhabitants of that city, by the Pruſſian general, to provide the troops with proviſions at a loſing price, on pain of military execution. This was immediately followed, in the evening of the ſame day, by an order for the payment of all taxes and cuſtoms

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

cuſtoms to the king of Pruſſia [A] whoſe officers had taken poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe and exciſe-office. The merchants of Leipſic were alſo obliged to open their magazines of corn and meal for the uſe of the Pruſſian army *.

ON his arrival at Dreſden, the king of Pruſſia was lodged at the houſe of the counteſs Moczinſka; and he ſent one of his officers to wait upon the queen of Poland, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that ſhe and her family ſhould be treated with the utmoſt reſpect and regard. Sentinels, however, were poſted within the palace in which the queen and royal family reſided; as alſo at the door of the ſecret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign tranſactions were depoſited. The queen entreated the Pruſſian monarch to remove the ſentinels which he had poſted within the palace, and contiguous paſſages, agreeably to the aſſurances that he had given, that all due reſpect ſhould be obſerved towards the royal family. But Frederick was ſo far from complying with her requeſt, that he ordered the guards to

[A] Voltaire, ſpeaking of the riſe of the war of 1756, ſays, 'that the king of Pruſſia united himſelf with the houſe of 'Hanover, imagining he could keep the Ruſſians out of 'Pruſſia with one hand, and the French out of Germany with 'the other. He was miſtaken in both theſe imaginings; but 'there was a third in which he was not miſtaken. This was 'to invade Saxony under the pretence of friendſhip, and to 'make war upon the empreſs-queen of Hungary, with the 'money of which he ſhould rob the Saxons.' Mémoires, p. 148.

* Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 75, 76.

be

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

be doubled, and ſent an officer to demand of her majeſty the keys of the ſecret cabinet. The queen obtained this officer's conſent, that the doors ſhould be ſealed up; but he afterwards returned with orders to break them open. Her majeſty then placed herſelf before the door, and ſaid, that ſhe truſted ſo much to the promiſe of the king of Pruſſia, that ſhe could not believe he had given ſuch orders. The officer affirmed, that his orders were poſitive, and that he durſt not diſobey them; but ſhe continued in the ſame place, declaring that if violence was to be uſed, he muſt begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the king with what had paſſed, her majeſty conjured the miniſters of Pruſſia and England to remind the Pruſſian monarch of his promiſe. But her repreſentations had no effect. The officer returned with freſh orders to uſe force, whatever oppoſition her Poliſh majeſty might make againſt it in perſon [B]. The queen was at length compelled to withdraw: the doors were

[B] The king of Pruſſia has been applauded for his politeneſs to the queen of Poland; and it has been mentioned as an inſtance of it, that when he was maſter of the palace and capital of the elector of Saxony, he was ſo far from exerciſing the rights of a conqueror there, that he modeſtly beſought permiſſion of her Poliſh majeſty to place his chair oppoſite to a painting of Corregio, in order to admire its beauties. But whatever politeneſs Frederick might manifeſt towards the queen of Poland, in matters of little importance, his conduct in other reſpects towards this princeſs, her huſband, and the electorate of Saxony, is ſuppoſed to have ſhortened her days. Voltaire ſays, 'Frederick entered Dreſden as maſter, 'under the name of protector. He demanded the keys of the 'archives

were forced, the chests broken open, and the papers seized [b]. The papers of which the king of Prussia thus obtained possession, were the originals of those negociations between the courts

CHAP. XVI. A. D. 1756.

'archives from the queen of Poland, daughter of the emperor Joseph, who had been unwilling to quit the place; and on her refusing to give them up, took proper measures to 'force open the doors. The queen placed herself between 'them, flattering herself, that they would respect her person 'and solitude; but they shewed no respect to either, and 'that depositary of the state was opened before her eyes. It 'was of great consequence to the king of Prussia, to find the 'proofs of the designs of Saxony against him. In fact he found 'TESTIMONIES OF THE DREAD WHICH HE HAD OCCASIONED.' Speaking afterwards of his Polish majesty quitting his electoral dominions, and retiring into Poland, Voltaire says, 'The queen of Poland, who did not follow 'her husband, but remained in Dresden, died soon after of 'grief. All Europe pitied that unfortunate family; but, in 'the course of those public calamities, millions of families ex-'perienced hardships not less great, though more obscure. 'Upon the magistrates of Leipsic remonstrating against the 'contributions imposed on them by the conqueror, which 'they said they could not pay, they were sent to prison, and 'then paid them. *Age of Lewis XV.* ch. 32.

Dr. Smollet says, 'The invasion of Saxony had well nigh 'produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The 'dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no 'sooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the 'king and queen of Poland, then she was seized with violent 'fits, which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life 'into the most imminent danger. The Prussian minister 'was immediately ordered to quit Versailles; and directi-'ons were dispatched to the French minister at Berlin, to 'retire from that court without taking leave.' Hist. of England, ut supra, p. 21.

[b] Smollett, ut supra, p. 13, 14.

of

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

of Dreſden, Vienna, and Peterſburgh, of which he had before procured copies, in conſequence of the treachery of a Saxon ſecretary, as I have already mentioned in a preceding chapter.

Some time after Frederick's arrival at Dreſden, though he was not very fond of attending ſermons, he yet felt a curioſity to hear the ſuperintendant of the Lutherans in that city, whoſe eloquence as a preacher he had heard highly extolled. Accordingly he went to the church, where the ſuperintendant was expected to preach, accompanied by the prince of Pruſſia, the princes Henry and Ferdinand, marſchal Keith, and ſeveral other general officers. The ſuperintendant, though he knew nothing of the king's coming, adapted his diſcourſe to the occaſion; but, without entering into any ſuch political ſtatements as might give offence to the Pruſſian monarch, he conſidered the invaſion of Saxony, and its preſent ſituation, as the conſequence of the decrees of the Almighty, who, when he ſtretches out his hand over the nations, brings about the moſt unforeſeen events. But he ſlightly touched upon the ſingular circumſtance of two monarchs, at peace with each other, one of whom entered the territories of the other, who was thereby compelled to leave the capital of his dominions. He beſought the Almighty, with the utmoſt fervour, to put an end to the miſfortunes of Saxony, by inclining the hearts of the two princes to a perfect reunion, that mutual peace and confidence might reign between their reſpective ſubjects. Then addreſſing

dreſſing himſelf to the king of Pruſſia, he recommended Saxony to his royal clemency and goodneſs. He conjured him to take compaſſion upon its deplorable ſtate, by all thoſe extraordinary talents, with which heaven had ſo liberally endowed him; and which were given, he ſaid, to the few who poſſeſſed them, with no other intent, than to be employed in the promotion of the happineſs of their fellow creatures. The ſuperintendant's ſermon is ſaid to have been ſo pathetic, as to draw tears from a great part of the audience. Frederick himſelf, if he was not affected, was at leaſt willing to put a good face upon the matter: for, when the ſervice was over, he ſent for the preacher, and ſaid to him, "Sir, your diſcourſe equally "pleaſed and edified me; and I wiſh that your "prayers may be heard."[a] CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

It ſoon appeared, that his Pruſſian majeſty was determined to eaſe the king of Poland of all trouble, in the government of his electoral dominions. For he ſent an officer to acquaint the Saxon miniſters of ſtate, and the members of their council, that the king of Pruſſia would have no occaſion for their ſervices, but would appoint proper perſons to fill their places, and to diſcharge the duties of their offices. Baron Wylloch was appointed the Pruſſian governor of Dreſden; and he made priſoners of all the Saxon officers found in that city, and obliged them to ſwear not to ſerve againſt the king his maſter, before they could be releaſed. He alſo

[a] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 590.

tranſported

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

tranſported down the Elbe, to Magdebourg all the artillery, arms, and other military ſtores, which had been laid up in the arſenals and magazines of Dreſden. Frederick likewiſe ordered the fortifications of Wertenberg to be blown up, and Torgau to be fortified, at which place he eſtabliſhed the ſeat of the Saxon government, under a Pruſſian adminiſtration[c]. The magazines at Dreſden were now filled with an immenſe quantity of proviſion and forage for the Pruſſian army; and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vaſt quantity of bread, for which purpoſe thirty new ovens were erected[d].

THE king of Poland, on being thus deprived of all authority in his electoral dominions, implored, by his miniſters, the aſſiſtance and mediation of the different neutral powers of Europe. In particular, his reſident at the Hague, M. Kauderbach, preſented a memorial to the States-general, dated Sept. 29, 1756, in which are the following paſſages: 'The invaſion 'of the electorate of Saxony, by the Pruſſian 'troops, is one of thoſe attacks againſt the 'law of nations, which, from the great re'ſpect due to it, demands the aſſiſtance of 'every power intereſted in its own liberty 'and independency. The king, my auguſt 'maſter, has ſeen his hereditary dominions in'vaded in a time of the profoundeſt peace; 'although his majeſty avoided, with the greateſt

[d] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 76, 77.
[e] Smollet's Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 13.

'care,

'care, every meaſure that could poſſibly give the leaſt umbrage to his neighbours.—A ſtate free, tranquil, and neuter has been invaded by a treacherous enemy who diſguiſes himſelf under the mask of friendſhip, who, without alleging the leaſt complaint, or any pretenſion whatſoever, but founding himſelf ſolely upon his convenience, makes himſelf maſter, by armed force, of all the towns, and even of the capital; diſmantles places, ſuch as Wirtemberg, and fortifies others, ſuch as Torgau.—The burghers are diſarmed, and magiſtrates carried off, to ſerve as hoſtages for the unjuſt and enormous contributions of proviſions and forage. The public coffers are ſeized, the revenues of the electorate confiſcated, the arſenals of Dreſden, of Leipſic, of Weiſſenfels, and of Zeitz, have been broken open, and the artillery and the arms plundered, and tranſported to Magdeburgh.'[f] CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

THIS memorial alſo ſtated, in very ſtrong terms, the perſonal indignity with which the queen of Poland had been treated. 'It was from 'the ſacred hands of that auguſt princeſs,' it was ſaid, 'that the archives of the ſtate were 'forced away, by menaces and violence, notwithſtanding the ſecurity which her majeſty 'might promiſe herſelf under the protection of 'all laws, human and divine, and notwithſtanding the reiterated aſſurances given to her, in the

[f] Saxon Memorial preſented at the Hague, printed in the Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 167, 168.

'name

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

'name of the king of Pruſſia, that not only her 'perſon and reſidence ſhould be abſolutely ſafe, 'but that even the Pruſſian garriſon ſhould be 'under her orders.'—'This princeſs has ſeen 'the activity of the privy-council aboliſhed, and, 'inſtead of the lawful government, an arbitrary 'directory ſubſtituted, which acknowledges no 'other law but its own will.'—'Such have been 'the firſt exploits of a prince, who declares that 'he undertakes the war ſolely to defend the li-'berty of the Germanic body, and to protect 'the Proteſtant religion, to which he gives a 'ſtroke the more dreadful, as he begins with 'cruſhing that very ſtate to which that religion 'owes its eſtabliſhment, and the preſervation 'of its moſt valuable rights; when, at the ſame 'time, he breaks through the moſt reſpectable 'laws, which conſtitute the union of the Germanic 'body, under the pretext of a defence, of which 'the empire at preſent ſtands in no need, except 'againſt himſelf. A ſolemn treaty of neutra-'lity, which his majeſty offered, nay, every 'ſecurity, that was compatible with his ſove-'reignty, were not ſufficient to ſtop the projects 'formed to invade and cruſh Saxony. The 'king, retired within his camp, could have no 'occaſion for any other argument but his own 'honour, and the affection of his people, for 'inducing him to reject (as, indeed, they deſerv-'ed) the unprecedented propoſals which had 'been made to him, *To yield up the command of 'his army, and the government of his dominions, 'to the king of Pruſſia, during the preſent war.*

'The

CHA XVII A. D 1756

'The cauſe of Saxony is a common cauſe to all 'the powers of Europe, as her fate foretels 'them what they muſt expect to undergo, 'when the law of nations, and the faith of 'treaties, are no more to be reſpected [g].'

An anſwer to this memorial was afterwards preſented to the States-general, by M. de Heſſen, the Pruſſian miniſter at the Hague, in which the eventual treaty of partition was urged, in vindication of the conduct of his Pruſſian majeſty [c]. The court of Saxony, it was ſaid, had joined in the deſigns of the court of Vienna againſt the king of Pruſſia; "but, by conſent "of the principal parties, they had been al- "lowed this reſervation, that Saxony ſhould "not appear in it, till the king's forces ſhould "be ſo weakened, or divided, that they might "then pull off the maſk with impunity [h]." It was added, that "that the great preparations of "the court of Vienna, joined to other appear- "ances, which betrayed the approaching execu- "tion of that court's vaſt deſigns, having obliged "his Pruſſian majeſty to prevent them; he was "well informed, that the court of Saxony in- "tended to let his troops freely paſs, and af- "terwards to wait events, in order to avail

[g] Saxon Memorial, ut ſupra, p. 169.

[c] The king of Pruſſia had himſelf entered into a treaty of partition reſpecting the Auſtrian dominions in 1741. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 72.

[h] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 170.

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

"themſelves of them, either by joining his "enemies, or by making a diverſion in his do- "minions."

IN another memorial publiſhed by the king of Pruſſia, in vindication of his conduct reſpecting Saxony, is the following paſſage; 'The king of 'Pruſſia is ſenſibly touched with the ſituation 'of the king of Poland; but that prince can 'blame for it only that miniſter, whoſe councils 'he follows [D], and who is not leſs an enemy 'to Saxony than to the king. It depended ſole- 'ly upon his Poliſh majeſty to have retired, 'at the beginning of thoſe troubles, into his 'kingdom, and to have aſſiſted at the diet that 'was to have aſſembled at Warſaw. The king of 'Pruſſia was deſirous of it, and had furniſhed all 'the neceſſary conveniences for that purpoſe '[E]; and it is not his fault, if that prince, ſtill 'following thoſe councils he ought long ago to 'have ſuſpected, reſolved to remain in Saxony, 'to put himſelf at the head of his troops, and 'ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up in his camp. All 'that the king could do, in theſe circumſtances,

[1] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 171.

[D] The miniſter here meant was count BRUHL.

[E] All that the king of Pruſſia required of his Poliſh majeſty was, that he ſhould leave his electoral dominions, and his army, to the care and management of his Pruſſian majeſty, till he ſhould think proper to relinquiſh them, and retire himſelf into Poland; but this modeſt requiſition, the king of Poland was not ſufficiently reaſonable readily to comply with.

'was

was to treat the king of Poland with that regard which is due to sovereigns. This has been done, and shall be invariably continued for the future.—The king of Poland may constantly expect from the king all the attention and respect compatible with the circumstances. The necessary provisions and refreshments for his table are daily sent to him. Nor have any difficulties ever been made to remit as much money to the queen, as she desired. Public security reigns throughout the country. The Prussian troops in it observe the most exact discipline; no complaint is made of plunder or of violence: and trade is carried on with as much security as in the very midst of peace. If they are obliged to furnish provisions and forage to the king's army, it is a necessary consequence of his majesty's present circumstances; yet nothing has been done, even in this respect, but what is practised among the best regulated nations, in similar cases. If the archives have been opened, it was with no other intent than to procure the originals of several pieces, of which the king had copies before in his hands; but, with regard to the rest, nothing has been touched.'

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

But before news could have been received at Petersburgh of the king of Prussia's invasion of Saxony, the Russian ministers were directed to present a memorial at different foreign courts, in which it was stated, 'That as the sole intent

[k] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 185, 186.

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

'of the preparations, which the empreſs had ordered to be made the preceding ſpring, was to enable her to fulfil her engagements with her allies, in caſe any of them ſhould be attacked, the preparations were ſuſpended both by ſea and land, as ſoon as there was ground to hope that this caſe would not ſoon happen; in order that the whole world might be convinced, that her imperial Czariſh majeſty was no leſs forward to defend her allies, when threatened with an attack, than backward to throw Europe into an alarm without an extreme neceſſity. But that the king of Pruſſia, far from doing juſtice to the empreſs's ſentiments on this head, (though he remained quiet, whilſt preparations were making by Ruſſia, and even ſome time after they had ceaſed) had all on a ſudden begun to make ſuch powerful armaments, as gave room to apprehend, that the flames of war would immediately burſt out. Nevertheleſs Ruſſia, in order to avoid the multiplying of fears, and furniſhing the king of Pruſſia with a ſpecious pretext for diſturbing the public tranquility, had made no motions; in hopes that the king of Pruſſia, in imitation of this example, would not ſtir up ſuch troubles. But that this prince, having continued to arm with all his might, and without any interruption, and without alledging any other reaſon, than the idea he had formed to himſelf of an apprehended attack, had thereby ſufficiently intimated, that he ſought only a pretext to diſturb the peace of Europe. It was, in

'fact

'fact, inconteſtible, that when the king of Pruſ- CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.
'ſia was preſſing his armaments with the greateſt
'vigour, thoſe of Ruſſia had long ceaſed; and
'that thoſe of the empreſs-queen did not begin
'till the ſucceſſive motions of the Pruſſians, and
'the augmentations of their forces, gave room
'to think Bohemia and Moravia were in dan-
'ger; inaſmuch as it was no ſecret, that the
'king of Pruſſia was diſguſted at the treaty of
'Verſailles; though this prince, when he ſign-
'ed his treaty with England, gave himſelf no
'concern about what the court of Vienna might
'think of it. It was, therefore, clear to her
'imperial Czariſh majeſty, that the king of
'Pruſſia ought to be conſidered as the firſt au-
'thor of the troubles, which were going to break
'out, though he had affected to publiſh, that he
'took all thoſe meaſures only to defend himſelf
'againſt thoſe deſigns of his enemies, which
'had no exiſtence but in his own imagination.'
—'In conſideration of all theſe circumſtances,
'the empreſs of Ruſſia could no longer conceal
'her real ſentiments, nor forbear declaring, that
'as ſhe could not behold with indifference any
'attack made upon the dominions of her allies,
'particularly thoſe of the empreſs-queen of
'Hungary, and the electorate of Saxony, ſhe
'would furniſh ſpeedy and powerful ſuccours
'to the party unjuſtly attacked, and would not
'think herſelf in any wiſe reſponſible for the
'conſequences, which the preſent menacing con-
'duct of his Pruſſian majeſty might draw after it.'[1]

[1] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 84, 85, 86.

BEFORE

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

BEFORE the king of Pruſſia's invaſion of Saxony, the king of France had alſo publiſhed a declaration, relative to the demand of the former for a paſſage for his troops through the electorate, in which is the following paſſage: 'His moſt Chriſtian majeſty cannot but conſider the requiſition, made by the king of Pruſſia to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, for the paſſage of his troops through that electorate, as nothing leſs than a declaration, that he is determined to uſurp that to which he has neither abſolute right, nor equitable claim. That by this uſurpation, committed in a time of profound peace, againſt the elector of Saxony, at the time when that prince relied, with unſuſpecting ſecurity, upon the faith of the treaty of Dreſden, and the aſſurances of friendſhip which the king of Pruſſia had given him, the king of Pruſſia had violated the public peace, the treaty of Weſtphalia, all the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, and every tie by which the members of the Germanic body are united [m].'

THREE imperial decrees were likewiſe publiſhed againſt the king of Pruſſia. In one of theſe, as head of the empire, the emperor admoniſhed the Pruſſian monarch on his conduct reſpecting Saxony, and commanded him to withdraw his troops from that electorate, on pain of being proceeded againſt according to the laws of the empire. By the ſecond, he abſolved all the va-

[m] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 498.

ſals

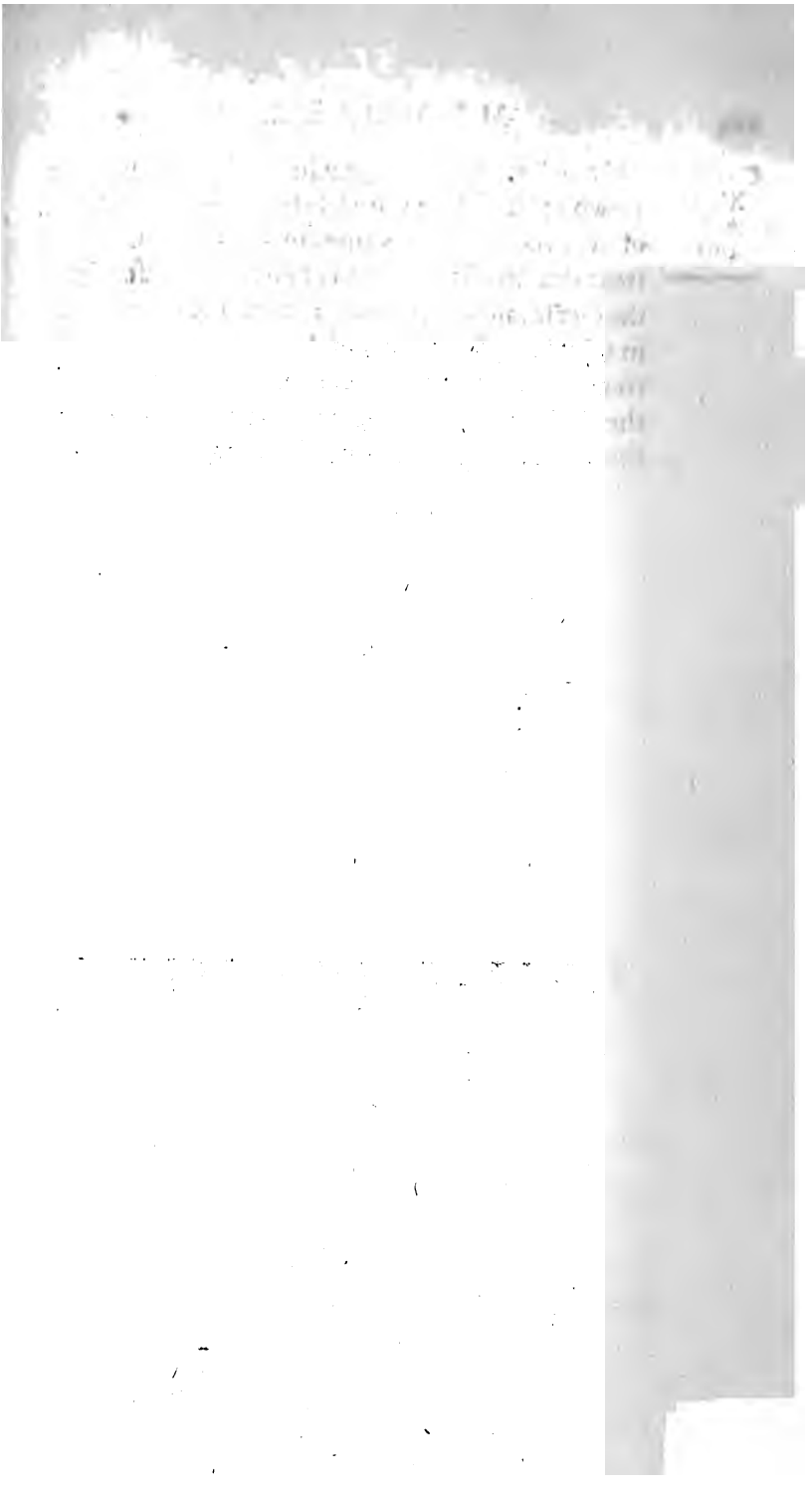
ſals of the empire, found in his ſervice, from their oaths of fidelity, and commanded them to leave the Pruſſian ſtandard. By the third, he prohibited all the princes, ſtates, and other members of the empire, from ſuffering their ſubjects to enliſt themſelves in the Pruſſian ſervice, or otherwiſe to afford any kind of aſſiſtance to his Pruſſian majeſty [n].

VINDICATIONS of Frederick's conduct were preſented by his miniſters at the diet of Ratiſbon; and he alſo publiſhed a piece of conſiderable length, under the title of "A Memorial, "exhibiting the conduct of the courts of Vienna "and Dreſden towards the king of Pruſſia, and "their dangerous deſigns againſt him: together "with the original documents in proof of "them [o]." It contained an account of the negociations concerning him between the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Saxony, together with the ſecret articles of the treaty concluded at Peterſburgh, in 1746, from which I have already given ſome extracts in the former chapters of theſe Memoirs. This publication, which was drawn up with much art and addreſs, made a great impreſſion in Frederick's favour in ſome parts of Europe, and eſpecially in England. It was not ſufficiently conſidered, that the formidable confederacy againſt him had been oc-

[n] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 81. Smollett's Hiſt. ut ſupra, vol. IV. p. 19, 20.

[o] Literary Magazine, vol. I. p. 362, 413, &c. Univerſal Mag. vol. XIX. p. 211, 242, &c.

caſioned

CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756. caſioned by his own conduct; by the manner in which he had wreſted Sileſia from the houſe of Auſtria, by his invaſion of Bohemia after the treaty of Breſlaw, by his behaviour reſpecting the electorate of Saxony, and the conſtant alarm in which he kept his neighbours; and that the treaty of partition was eventual and conditional, the *Caſus Fœderis* being an attack of either of the contracting parties by the king of Pruſſia.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.